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BUILDERS OF EUROPE

THE RENAISSANCE
AND AFTER



LOUIS XIV
(*Rigaud*)

Alinari

BUILDERS OF EUROPE

VOLUME II

THE RENAISSANCE AND AFTER

BY

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THE sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in European history are among the best of all periods for treatment on biographical lines, because they provide us with a sequence of famous characters which fall cleanly and consecutively into the general historical scheme. The present work therefore, besides presenting a number of life-stories, may gain in value as a history book in school because the period it covers is so rich in the kind of biographical material which makes an age live through its leaders. To this end special care has been taken in choosing people representative of their ages, and in showing clearly what contribution they had to make to the building of European civilization. This, together with the preservation of continuity, makes the work readily adaptable for class use.

The text has been supplemented by maps and tables to be used as aids to reading, and lists of books for individual research may be found at the end of each chapter. Further illustrations consist largely of portraits and pictures, as a result of a personal belief that these lend an added interest to the study of history, and are of great assistance in relating the character to the period. The exercises marked with an asterisk at the end of each chapter are specially included because they involve a certain amount of extra reading. In working through this book, free use of a good historical atlas would be a decided advantage.

I am greatly indebted to my colleagues Miss K. M. Holden, M.A., and Mr. A. E. Crow, B.A., and to my wife for reading the manuscript and proofs, also to the officials of the Bradford and West Ham Libraries for valuable help in obtaining material.

E. P.

1935.

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CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF MODERN TIMES

I

'A NEW HEAVEN AND A NEW EARTH'

MOHAMMED II, Sultan of the Turkish Empire, sat on his throne. Before him stood a gunsmith who had deserted from the Christians, and who now sought service with the Muslem armies.

'Canst thou, then, cast a cannon which will throw a stone ball large enough to batter the walls of Constantinople?' asked the Sultan.

'I am not ignorant of the strength of those walls,' replied the smith; 'but were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could make an engine to destroy them.'

The Sultan, who had reigned only a year, held sway over land from the Danube to the Euphrates. One city alone remained beyond his grasp. This was Constantinople, the outpost of Christianity. Mohammed's overwhelming desire to occupy this city prevented him from sleeping, and he would often walk the streets of Adrianople at night thinking out plans of attack. A great arsenal was established and hundreds of large cannon were cast. The most stupendous of all these was a brass monster which would throw a stone weighing four and a half hundredweights the distance of a mile.

In 1453 the memorable siege was begun. Mohammed had drawn round the city a ring of 150,000 men to overwhelm the small garrison of 10,000. His engineers built roads to the walls, but the Christians destroyed them by night; they bored beneath the fortifications only to find themselves again foiled by skilful countermining; the

wooden tunets which they moved up to the walls were reduced to ashes by Greek fire. But the fateful day could not long be postponed. Mohammed promised rewards, threatened death and tortures, and reminded the faithful of their duty to Allah. In the last assault, the vigour of the Greeks was that of despair. Mighty cannon belched forth flame and smoke, trumpets blared, the air was filled with cries, great towers rocked up to the beleaguered city, whose walls crumpled at the impact of huge stones. Soldiers, vagrants, and the refuse of the host flocked through the breaches. The Emperor Constantine fell by an unknown hand and his body was later found at the bottom of a heap of slain. Fugitives from all quarters sought refuge at the famous Church of St. Sophia, but the terror followed them there. The temple was cleared, time-honoured relics were torn down, the gold and silver was taken and sold, and within a few hours the centre of Eastern Christianity was converted to a Mohammedan mosque, from the highest turret of which the voice of the muezzin rang: 'God is God, there is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.'

The year 1453 is taken by many historians as a convenient starting point for the study of modern history. This does not mean that on 29th May of that year the Middle Ages ended and a new age began, for, as a famous writer has said, 'History cannot be cut off into lengths as a stick of wood is cut with the axe. Neither do men launch "movements" as a ship is built in the yards and launched from the ways'. Yet if we are to study modern times we must begin somewhere, and no date is more convenient than this. For it was as if the muezzin had ascended the tower of St. Sophia, but, instead of declaiming the sovereignty of Mohammed, he had called, 'Wake up, people of Europe! Wake up from your sleep of the centuries, for all around you are the things from which you must fashion a new heaven and a new earth!'

Medieval Europe had for centuries pursued her way



THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE
(*Defectors*)

undisturbed. In the year 732 Charles Martel had defeated the Mohammedans at Tours and had thus removed the only serious peril from outside. Many invasions occurred after this time it is true, but the raiders were not foreign races and mixed freely with the previous inhabitants. A distinct civilization thus had time to spring up. In England, France, and Germany, great feudal princes arose, whose vassals held land from them in return for services in war. They fought among themselves and contended for the favours of the Emperor or the blessings of the Pope. The people over whom they ruled, tilled their fields, kept their cattle, paid dues for their land, fought in the ranks during war, and suffered petty injustice in peace-time. When their lands were ravaged they fled to the mountains and starved.

Europeans lived in a world of their own and Rome was its centre. To the west was an ocean on whose unknown face no ships steered their course, because of the many terrors which were supposed to exist there. To the east and south were the dominions of the hated Moslem, and beyond them vast expanses of land peopled by strange monsters which lay in wait to seize the unwary traveller and to make an end of him. Thus the world of the Middle Ages was small, and new discoveries were discouraged. Knowledge was thought to be a complete whole which could never be increased. Its beginning was faith and its end was theology, or the deep study of God and His ways. Its greatest exponents were the monks and the schoolmen. They resented any contradiction of their teaching and persecuted all who dared to find out and declare their discoveries of new truths.

The Middle Ages were not without benefits to the people. An implicit faith in a loving God had brought forth many saints and had established a Church under whose care none need be disturbed in time of peace, but, in addition to these, appeared every sign of narrowness and bigotry, intense hatred of infidel and Jew, degrading spectacles of

religious floggings, vain crusades in which zeal for godly things was mingled with every form of vice and selfishness.

By the fourteenth century the process of decay had set in. The Turks had occupied Palestine and crusades were preached in every land. Europe flung her hosts against the solid walls of the Orient, and the survivors returned to their homes bringing back new ideas and strange crafts which they practised in the towns. Many of them had learnt a new kind of life in Saracen villages and camps, and were no longer ready to accept without protest the dictation either of feudal lord or Pope.

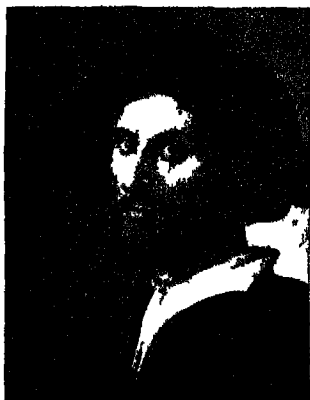
The ferocity of the Turk did even more to break down the ring-fence which had kept Europe isolated. During the Middle Ages the spices of India and the silks of China had previously been brought westward by caravan, but the coming of the Turk almost put an end to this trade by blocking up its last route. Yet even this was not without its advantages. India and China must be reached somehow, and now that the land route was blocked, a sea passage must be found. So it came about that a wise Portuguese prince sent out a long succession of seamen and explorers to find a new route to India. Sailing round Africa, they proved that the stories of boiling rivers and strange monsters were false, and at last a Portuguese ship entered the harbour of Calicut. Europe was slowly waking from her sleep.

The awakening was accompanied by a revival of learning. Spanish Moors and Jews had preserved the ancient science of medicine. The work of Roger Bacon had remained in obscurity, but his greatness was found out when the new light of learning began to shine. In art, too, a new influence was felt. Stiff and artificial paintings were superseded by the more human portraiture of the first Italian artists. What was left of antiquity was eagerly unearthed by cultured princes, and a new type of scholar began to take the place of the old schoolman with his science of theology.

The Italian poet Petrarch (1304-74) when a boy had flung his books of medieval study into the fire, and had kept only his books of Roman history and his Virgil. He inaugurated a new movement in writing, and delightful sonnets in Italian came from his pen. His teachings spread into the schools of Italy. The greatest Italian schoolmaster of all, Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446), forsook the old tradition and brought up his boys on classics. He taught them to respect the human body, and thus did much to make the Italian gentleman clean and healthy, with a mind open and receptive to new ideas.

The fall of Constantinople was neither the cause nor the beginning of the great new movement, but only a powerful influence which spurred it on to its fruition. Long before the Turk occupied the city, philosophers and learned men had fled, taking with them the manuscripts they cherished. Devastating wars had broken down the feudal system. Great and turbulent nobles had fallen, and, in western lands, powerful princes were reigning in magnificence. New philosophers were now welcomed, especially in the courts of the merchant princes of Italy, and their teachings were eagerly absorbed by the young men of the time. The new movement spread rapidly, and even obtained a following in the Church. Intellectual life in Europe, which a hundred years before had been cold and barren as winter, put forth shoots, and blossomed with the breath of a new spring. For this reason we call the new movement the Rebirth of Learning, or the 'Renaissance', for men looked forth through eyes from which the scales of tradition had fallen. They saw a new heaven and a new earth, and they marvelled.

The Renaissance permeated all orders of society. The ruler became a patron of learning and art, the soldier was trained to the use of firearms, and the old crossbow was gradually discarded. The sailor now became an enterprising explorer, keen on the discovery of new lands and



CE'SARI BORGIA



MACHIAVLLI



POPE ALEXANDER VI

eager to possess himself of the riches which might be gained through venturing upon the new seas. The discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 opened up a new world to seamen, and they now sought to make at least one voyage to the rich treasure-grounds of the New World. Thus the Age of Discovery went hand in hand with the Revival of Learning.

Such movements as these inevitably produced new types of men who now felt the joy of freedom. New families, whose founders had at first been simple peasants or craftsmen, now rose to greatness. Although in many ways this was a good sign, it produced almost all the evils of the day, for the way of earthly success was open now more than ever to the most daring and unscrupulous. This showed itself most plainly in Italy, for there in many cases the greatest men were also the greatest rogues. They rose up, sweeping mercilessly out of their way all those who dared to oppose them. Their only virtues consisted in their ability to manage men and to govern states. Even the Popes were not free from the taint of evil, and one of them, Alexander VI, made it his life's work to carve out of the States of the Church a kingdom for Cesare Borgia, his favourite son.

Cesare has always been regarded as the very personification of Renaissance roguery. He was tall and amiable, with a smooth tongue and charming manners, yet below the surface lay all the clever villainies of which humanity is capable. At his father's command he set off to subdue the unruly despots in the papal lands, his final object being, however, to make himself lord of them all. He became the terror of all North Italy, removing every obstacle by massacre, strangling, or poisoning. He had almost realized his dream when his father suddenly died. The next Pope, Julius II, was his enemy, and the dukedoms he had carved out vanished before his eyes. He was captured and sent to Spain, where, after another four years he died in an obscure siege.

One of Cesare's greatest admirers was an Italian diplomat named Niccolo Machiavelli, who wrote a book describing his ideal ruler. In this work, which is called *The Prince*, he has made the figure of the Italian despot of those days live before our eyes. The prince, says Machiavelli, should be an absolute ruler, governing the people for their own good and taking the best of everything as his own reward. He should be strong, forceful, and quick in decision, for such qualities are needed in a monarch. He must put down rebellions with every weapon he can use. Under such circumstances it is not wrong for him to be cunning, treacherous, cruel and merciless, for such qualities, which are vices in the ordinary man, are virtues in him. Humility and obedience would in him be sources of error and ruin. 'Walk straight on. Do only what pleases you, but only do it if it likewise serves you. Leave to the small minds, the rabble and the underlings, all slackness and scruple,' are his instructions to rulers. Machiavelli's *Prince* became the textbook of statecraft for all monarchs of the following century who aspired to absolute power.

Thus the world moves from one extreme to the other, and every virtue brings with it its corresponding vice. The piety of the Middle Ages had been distorted into bigotry and prejudice, the freedom of the Renaissance now degenerated into licentiousness, and was accompanied by selfishness, avarice, and lust.

CHIEF DATES

- 1304-74. Life of Petrarch.
- 1378-1446. Life of Vittorino da Feltre.
- 1453. Fall of Constantinople.
- 1469-1527. Life of Machiavelli.
- 1492. Alexander VI made Pope.
- 1500. Papal States subdued by Cesare Borgia.
- 1503. Death of Alexander VI. Accession of Julius II.
- 1503. Fall of Cesare Borgia.

EXERCISES

1. What causes contributed to the Rebirth of Learning in Europe during the fifteenth century? What effects had it (a) on art, (b) on geographical discovery?

2. What kind of ruler does Machiavelli praise in his book *The Prince*? Which ruler, of whom you have learnt in history, is most like him?

3. Compare Europe during the Middle Ages with Europe during the Renaissance.

4. Who were the following: Mohammed II, Petrarch, Vittorino da Feltre, Alexander VI, Cesare Borgia, Julius II?

2

THE BIRTH OF MIGHTY STATES

THE coming of the sixteenth century saw as great a change in the internal history of the various states as it had done in the progress of ideas. In England and France, devastating civil wars had raged. These were only ended by the forcible seizure of control by one man in each country, who welded his state into a compact and unified whole. In England, the Wars of the Roses ended, and the crown passed to Henry Tudor. His powerful will and his supreme cunning made England an orderly and peaceful country. He forbade the nobles to keep private armies, and enriched the state with heavy taxes wrung from them. His vigorous measures pleased the common people over whom the nobles had tyrannized, and in his reign the spirit of patriotism awoke again. Out of the ruins of feudal England, Henry forged a national state whose voice was once more heard in the counsels of Europe.

A similar change took place in France, whose redemption began shortly after the victories of Joan the Martyr.

Charles VII, whom she had crowned, was not a great statesman, but he had the help of so many remarkable men that he has been given the sobriquet of 'le Bien Servi'. The last remains of English resistance vanished before the victorious artillery organized by Jean Bureau, and the empty coffers of the state were replenished by the financial measures of Jacques Cœur. In 1439 a great law appeared, known as the 'Ordonnance sur la Gendarmerie', which suppressed brigandage and instituted a tax on land and income—called the *taille*—for the purpose of raising a national standing army. By the year 1453 England was left with Calais only. The spirit of Joan of Arc had conquered.

Louis XI, who succeeded Charles in 1461, was to France what Henry VII was to England. Perhaps Machiavelli in writing his *Prince* also had this monarch in mind. For instance, Louis's motto, 'He who knows not how to deceive knows not how to reign', is truly Machiavellian in spirit. He brought Anjou, Provence, and Brittany under royal influence and broke the power of the Dukes of Burgundy who had been a constant menace to France. The last duke, Charles the Bold, had been Louis's friend as a young man, but now Louis tried by intrigue and diplomacy to work his ruin. Charles lost his life at the siege of Nancy in 1477, and Louis possessed himself of all that part of Burgundy which had originally belonged to France. When he died in 1483, France was richer both in land and treasure.

One of the most remarkable stories of history is that of the rise of Spain to greatness. In the Middle Ages the Moors had founded a separate culture there. But their dominion was not strong, and, had a man of power and vision arisen on the Spanish side, the Moors would have been subdued long before they actually were. The Cid Campeador, the Spanish national hero, was a brave man who carved out a Christian principality named Valencia, but he fought

for himself and not for Spain. It was left to the Christian kingdoms of the north to continue the war, and they gradually forced the Moors to the extreme south of the peninsula. At last the three Christian states of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal emerged. In 1469 Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella, heiress to the throne of Castile, and ten years later the two kingdoms were united. Portugal alone remained, and has never been successfully absorbed into Spain, but under Ferdinand and Isabella a great new European power arose. The nobles were suppressed, justice was restored, and the labourer protected. The Inquisition was established to convert the Jews, and a great crusade was planned against the Moors. In 1492 Granada, their chief town, surrendered, and the cross displaced the crescent on its highest tower.

Three nations had thus been firmly established in Europe, but there were still lands in which unity was as yet impossible. Such was the case in the group of states known as the Holy Roman Empire. A glance at an historical map of this period shows it as a conglomeration of states fitting into each other like pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. In a united kingdom, such states as these are subject to the central government, but in the Empire no man had been strong enough to weld his vast dependencies into one compact whole. The Empire spread over the whole of central Europe from the Baltic Sea to Italy, from the Netherlands to Poland, and held within its bounds peoples who hardly knew the existence of each other. The rich Italian citizens and the turbulent German barons loved their own liberty too much to sacrifice it to a superior power. The Pope, too, was a steady opponent of any Emperor's ambitious schemes, and had many times frustrated them.

From early times the Imperial crown had been elective, and the right of choosing monarchs had gradually passed into the hands of seven 'electors'. Four of these, the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the King of Bohemia,

and the Elector Palatine, were lords holding lands in the Empire; the other three, the Archbishops of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne, were the three great 'Spiritual Princes'. At first any prince within the Empire might be chosen, but after 1273 the Imperial crown continued to be held by one family. In that year Rudolf of Habsburg ascended the throne. He held a small tract of land around the castle of Habsburg in what is now Switzerland. During his reign he became Duke of Austria and added many valuable lands to his possessions. When he died his family was easily the foremost in the whole Empire, and, though the practice of election still continued, the throne was held by a Habsburg as long as the Empire remained.

When Charles the Bold of Burgundy died in 1477, Louis XI, in his attempts to obtain his lands for the French crown, proposed that Charles's only daughter, Mary, should marry the Dauphin. But Mary hated the French, and married instead Maximilian of Habsburg, who would in all probability be Emperor one day. Louis XI succeeded in snatching the western half of Burgundy, but Mary brought into the Habsburg family the other half of Burgundy and the whole of the Netherlands. Never was the Holy Roman Empire nearer to true unity than in the sixteenth century.

The one remaining country of any importance in European history during this time was Italy. Her scholars and thinkers had exerted the foremost influence on the minds of men during the Renaissance. But her political life during this period stands out in miserable contrast. In the great days of the Roman Empire, Italy had been strong and united, but, since its passing, the land had been the prey of every type of barbarian invader. In the later Middle Ages rich towns sprang up in the north, each controlled by a wealthy prince, who waged constant war with his neighbours.

In the north-east corner of the peninsula was Venice. During the barbarian invasions the site of this town had



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN RECEIVING AN EMBASSY FROM VENICE
(Becker)

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been a favourite place of refuge for fugitives who plied about the lagoons in small boats. When the first Crusades opened up new avenues of trade in the East, the town became wealthy, and acquired widespread possessions on the mainland. Her fishermen became merchants, her small huts gave place to magnificent buildings, the cry of the gondolier echoed over her canals, and the trader bargained daily on the Rialto. At the beginning of the sixteenth century she was still splendid and powerful, though the possession of Constantinople by the Turks was already robbing her of much of her former trade.

All North Italy was dotted with city-states such as Florence, Milan, Genoa, Lucca, and Siena, each of which had land encircling it. All these were governed by members of powerful families who waged incessant war with each other. *The best known of them all is Florence*, a city of wealthy bankers who had lent money to almost every state in Europe. But splendour and wealth do not always bring contentment in their train, and Florence was always the centre of rival political parties who fought bitterly for control over the government. In the end the chief power in the state fell into the hands of one family, the Medici, who, although nominally only common citizens, yet held in their own hands the reins of government. They gave Florence peace and prosperity, and encouraged art and literature.

Little remains to be said of the rest of Italy. Across the middle of the peninsula ran a belt of land ruled over by the Pope and known as the States of the Church, and in the very south lay the kingdom of Naples ruled over by a branch of the House of Aragon.

Italy was disunited and could exert no political influence whatever. Faction fights raged everywhere and hardly a town was at peace with itself. The Renaissance had produced a generation of men who cared for nothing but the pursuit of their own ends. Centuries before this time,

Italy had been laid open to attacks of the barbarians. Now she again offered prospects of rich spoil, which the greedy monarchs who surrounded her were only too eager to take.

From 1494 to 1515 Italy was invaded three times by the French. Charles VIII, the next king of France, had neither the brains nor the capabilities of Louis XI. 'His understanding,' says a famous historian, 'was as feeble as his person was deformed, and it was the irony of fate that made such a man the conqueror of Italy when that country was in the zenith of its civilization.' He laid claim to the throne of Naples, and led a French army over the Alps. City after city capitulated. Even Florence opened her gates to the conqueror. Charles marched south and approached Rome, where, under Pope Alexander VI, vice and corruption prevailed. The papal court suddenly became panic-stricken. Charles occupied Rome and entered Naples almost without resistance.

But the French king was in no hurry to follow up his successes and remained all the winter of 1494 revelling in Naples. When the following spring came, he found that all Italy, Spain, and the Empire had joined in league against him. He marched quickly back and, after a hard-fought battle at Fornovo in the northern Apennines, he succeeded in reaching France again.

Louis XII, Charles's cousin, who became king in 1498, was ambitious to regain the land that had been lost. He attacked and captured Milan, but he was not as successful in the south as Charles had been. He was compelled to give half Naples to Spain, but the two countries quarrelled over the division, and within three years the French had been driven out again.

Their overthrow was completed by the new Pope, Julius II, who succeeded the profligate Alexander VI in 1503. His sole aim was to extend papal power and ultimately to expel the French altogether. In 1508 he made the League of Cambrai against Venice, and her possessions



were shared amongst the victors. Then in 1511 he drew all the Italian powers together in the Holy League, with the object of expelling the French. Venice, Spain, and the Emperor engaged them in Italy, Henry VIII of England invaded France in the north, and when Louis died in 1515 everything had been lost.

The next king, Francis I, was a young and ambitious prince, eager for military glory and anxious to retrieve what his predecessor had lost. The third invasion of Italy thus took place in 1515. Francis crossed the Alps and fell on the Emperor's Swiss troops at Marignano before any opposition could be organized. The Swiss fought desperately, and at the end of one day the result was indecisive. The battle continued by the light of the moon, but on the second day the Swiss were put to flight.

Francis had gained a speedy victory, and his power was now established in Italy. He made a concordat, or treaty, at Bologna, with the Pope, by which the French kings were allowed in future the sole right of appointment to the high offices of the Church in France. Ferdinand of Spain began to organize a new league against Francis, but before he had completed all arrangements he died (1516), leaving his throne to his grandson, Charles, a youth of sixteen, who signed a treaty of peace.

The Peace of Noyon, which Charles made, was only the signal for a short period of rest before the war, which had been started by the ambition of Charles VIII, blazed out again and became the age-long struggle between Valois and Habsburg.

CHIEF DATES

- 1439. 'Ordonnance sur la Gendarmerie.' *Taille* established.
- 1461. Accession of Louis XI of France
- 1469. Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella.
- 1477. Death of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.
- 1477. Marriage of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy.

- 1479. Accession of Ferdinand and Isabella to a united Spain.
- 1483. Accession of Charles VIII of France.
- 1485. Accession of Henry VII of England.
- 1492. Granada captured by the Spaniards from the Moors.
- 1494. Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.
- 1495. Battle of Fornovo.
- 1498. Accession of Louis XII of France.
- 1499. Invasion of Italy by Louis XII.
- 1508. League of Cambrai.
- 1511. Holy League.
- 1515. Accession of Francis I of France.
- 1515. Battle of Marignano.
- 1516. Concordat of Bologna.
- 1516. Accession of Charles to throne of Spain.
- 1516. Peace of Noyon.

EXERCISES

1. How was France restored to power after the Hundred Years' War?
2. What have you learnt about Burgundy?
3. Draw a sketch-map of Italy and give a brief description of each of the main divisions.
4. Why did the French invade Italy? What success did they have before 1516?
5. What was the Holy Roman Empire? Can you suggest any reasons why the Emperors found it impossible to unite it into a solid state?
6. What were the chief events which marked the period of Spanish unity?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- Gibbon. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*
- Dark. *The Renaissance.*
- Ludwig. *Genius and Character.* (Machiavelli.)
- Batiffol. *The Century of the Renaissance.* (National History of France.)

CHAPTER II

'MEN WRIT LARGE'

I

'THE RULER: LORENZO DE' MEDICI'

FLORENCE of the Middle Ages was a town of bankers and merchants. Set in the fertile valley of the Arno, surrounded by luxurious fields and groves, dowered with riches and magnificence gained through industry and trade, it would have seemed to the visitor to be a veritable paradise on earth. But a glimpse of the character of the people would convince one that, in the most glorious surroundings, civil strife could be bloodthirsty and bitter. The history of medieval Florence is strewn with the names of martyrs and exiles. First Guelf strove with Ghibelline, then White with Black, and at last one powerful family contended with another for the high honours of state.

In 1434 the victory was won by Cosimo de' Medici, who became supreme ruler of the city. He was to Florence what the Emperor Augustus had been to Rome, a benevolent governor, always considerate towards his people and anxious for their welfare. He believed sincerely in the new learning and invited professors from all over Europe to teach in the new academy he had established. He paid immense sums of money to scholars who would bring old manuscripts to his libraries. Believing as he did that men were made, not to suffer, but to enjoy all that life can give, he placed the great feast of art and learning before every Florentine who was capable of partaking of it.

Cosimo lived to see his wisdom bear fruit even in his

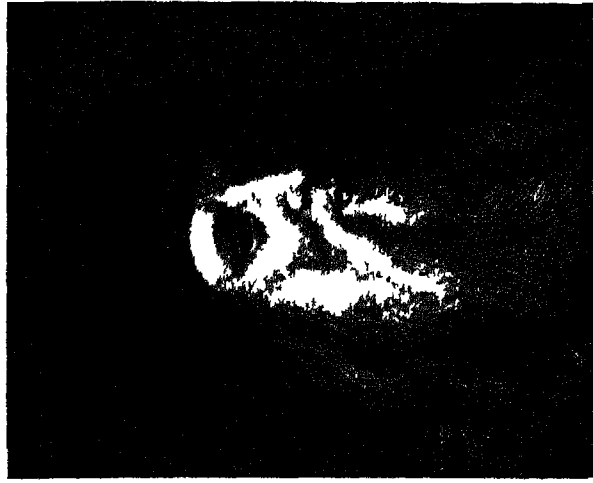
own family. He had a son, Piero, a good, well-meaning man without the genius of his father, but with enough common sense to know that the safety of the Medici and of Florence depended on continuing Cosimo's work. Piero was married to Lucrezia Tornabuoni, one of the most accomplished women of the Renaissance. Her intellectual eminence sorted well with the beauty and dignity of her figure, for she was a keen student and poetess, producing poems translated into Italian from the sacred works, and interested in everything connected with the new movement.

Such were the mother and father of the great Lorenzo. From the beginning of his life he had every chance of developing himself. He was quick-witted and alert, his fund of learning was wide and yet deep, his body was well knit and athletic, and he loved every kind of sport, especially horsemanship. The portrait of him by Vasari is certainly not that of a handsome man. His complexion was olive, his mouth large, with finely cut lips, but nevertheless a little ugly. Yet below all this we seem to see the man of experience and intellect. In his face is the resolution of a leader of men, in his poise the dignity of a scholar. He wears no fine garments as the rich of those days were accustomed to do, but appears before us as a simple, grave citizen.

Lorenzo was born on 1st January 1448. During the rule of his father, Piero, the city passed through a troublesome period. Rival factions thought that the greatness of the Medici had died with Cosimo, but they were mistaken. Piero defeated his enemies in two wars. When he died in 1469 the troubles were over, and Lorenzo was old enough to carry on the government. He has left a record of his appointment. 'When I, Lorenzo, was very young, to wit, twenty-one years of age, there came to our house the principal men of the city to express their grief at what had happened. They requested that I would undertake the



LORENZO DE' MEDICI
(*Vasari*)



LEONARDO DA VINCI
(*Self-portrait*)

care of the city and state as my father and grandfather had done. To this I unwillingly assented, as not being in accord with my age, and a matter of much care and danger, but I undertook it solely for the preservation of my friends and supporters, since at Florence it is ill living without governmental authority.'

Lorenzo proved that he had in him the qualities of a great ruler. In his government the ancient councils were still convened. They were the connecting link between the people and himself. But within these councils were the inner committees which managed all important affairs and over which Lorenzo himself presided. The great offices of state were open to all men of ability. Open favouritism was avoided, and internal peace reigned during the greater part of Lorenzo's life.

Under him the trade of Florence prospered. Goods from all corners of the known world found their way into her markets, and their profits filled the public coffers. Taxation was therefore low, and the state had enough money to spend lavishly on free entertainment for the people. Men ceased thinking of politics, and the crowds which had once brawled in the streets were now enthralled by the marvellous spectacles put before them.

Lorenzo carried the same policy into the affairs of Italy. He wanted Florence to be great, but he hated wars and preferred to surround himself by friendly states which would support him in time of need. Florence was on the high road from North to South Italy, and because of her position would suffer most heavily in time of war. As long as he lived he succeeded in his object of keeping peace. He had disputes with Naples and the Papacy, but owing to the support of Louis XI of France these never became really dangerous to him.

During his reign, Lorenzo had to face one great conspiracy organized by the supporters of a rival family, the Pazzi. On Sunday, 26th April 1478, he was attending

High Mass with his family, when suddenly the shrill clanging of a bell was heard, and immediately afterwards a shout, 'Take that, traitor'. He suddenly felt a heavy hand on his shoulder and, looking behind him, saw a dagger upraised to strike. Before the blow could fall, he had leapt away and was making for the door. There was a pursuit amid frantic cries, but Lorenzo was soon surrounded by friends and made good his escape to the sacristy. The shout he had heard had saved his life, but it meant the murder of his brother Giuliano, whose body now lay in the church. When the people outside heard the news they scoured Florence for the conspirators, and, on those who were caught, immediate and terrible vengeance was taken. The property of the Pazzi family was seized by the state and the very name was expunged from all public records.

Lorenzo now had to face a league of his enemies, including the Pope and the King of Naples. At once he offered to lay down his office in Florence, but the people would not hear of it. A terrible conflict would have followed in Italy had not a sudden Turkish invasion intervened.

Florence was now at the height of her power. Gifts poured in from every state. When the Turkish invasion was over, the Sultan sent presents, among which were a giraffe, a lion, and a bay horse. With the passing of years the city was graced by an ever increasing number of talented Renaissance scholars and artists. A staff of forty-five men was kept for the sole purpose of copying manuscripts. Tutors were found to teach in the flourishing school which later produced so many of the world's most famous men. Thus scholarship and literature were encouraged without a thought of expense.

Lorenzo was a fervent admirer of his unfortunate countryman, Dante, and tried to repay in some measure the debt owed by the city to so great a name. The old decrees which

had struck the poet's name off the roll of citizens were withdrawn, and in 1481 the first Florentine edition of his works was produced. But the debt to Dante was discovered too late, for, when an embassy went to Ravenna to try to procure his remains for reburial in Florence, permission was refused. Dante remains an exile in Ravenna to this day.

Lorenzo did not by any means live solely to govern a city but had also his own pleasures and pursuits. Besides being a patron of learning, he was himself no mean poet, and some of the sonnets he wrote remain to-day the gems of Italian literature. When freed from cares of state he was a lover of home-life, and it is pleasant to read of so great a man joining in the games and romps of his own boys and girls, exchanging childish letters with them and personally supervising their education.

It would, however, have needed a succession of geniuses like Lorenzo to keep Florence free from danger. But unfortunately talent does not commonly descend from father to son, and Lorenzo's health broke down when he was only forty-three years old. Like his father, he had always been subject to gout, but in 1492 he was attacked by a fever. Three days before his death the congregation of one of the churches was startled by the loud voice of a woman: 'Alas, citizens, do you not see the large bull which with flaming horns is casting this mighty temple to the ground'. The words were prophetic, for, with the death of her ruler, Florence was left open to quarrels within and attacks from without.

Lorenzo had striven hard to educate his son Piero to carry on his policy. 'Remember,' he said, 'that, though you are my son, you are only a simple Florentine citizen like any other.' But Piero had none of his father's tact, and his folly brought about one evil after another. Within a few years of his accession to power he was driven away, and the star of the Medici was on the wane.

THE ARTIST: LEONARDO DA VINCI 27

As a ruler, Lorenzo is truly representative of the best tradition of his day. He used his power for the improvement of his state, and devoted himself to the happiness of the people in it. No man did more for the spread of the new learning. The direct encouragement he gave to all scholars and artists is even now in evidence in every library and picture gallery in Europe.

CHIEF DATES

- 1434. Cosimo de' Medici called to rule Florence.
- 1448. Birth of Lorenzo.
- 1464. Death of Cosimo. Piero ruler of Florence.
- 1469. Death of Piero. Lorenzo invited to rule Florence.
- 1478. The Pazzi conspiracy.
- 1492. Death of Lorenzo.

EXERCISES

1. What services did Lorenzo render (a) to Florence, (b) to the revival of learning?
2. Describe, in dialogue form, the visit to Lorenzo of the elders of Florence.
3. Can you suggest why Florence fell from her high position at the end of the fifteenth century?

2

THE ARTIST:

LEONARDO DA VINCI

ONE day in January 1480 a number of dead bodies were hanging by their necks from the windows of a palace in Florence in the full view of every passer-by. Below in the street a young man of about twenty-five years of age was standing absorbed in contemplation of one of these as it dangled limp and lifeless from the rope, its hands pinioned

behind its back, and its long garments stirring in the wind. The young man held a notebook in which he was making a sketch of the grim figure above. When he had completed his study he wrote on the sheet, 'Small tan coloured cap, black satin doublet, lined black jerkin, blue cloak lined with fur of foxes' breasts, and the collar of the cloak covered with velvet speckled black and red; Bernardo di Bandino Baroncelli; black hose'. The artist put away his notebook and walked leisurely away.

Baroncelli, the leader of the Pazzi conspiracy and the murderer of Giuliano de' Medici, was hanged on 29th December 1479, and the young artist who was making the sketch was Leonardo da Vinci, the protégé of the great Lorenzo.

Leonardo was born in 1452, the year before the fall of Constantinople. His father, Piero, was a lawyer and his mother a peasant woman of Vinci, a small hill-fortress near Florence. He was brought up for the most part in his father's household, where at an early age he showed great talent for drawing, music, and arithmetic. One day a peasant on the estate of Piero da Vinci cut down a fig-tree, and from the wood he made a shield as a present to his master. Piero gave it to his son Leonardo and asked him to paint something on it. Some time later, Leonardo invited his father to see the finished drawing. He led him in to a dimly lit room where the design was, and drew away the curtain. The gruesome apparition which Piero saw made him start back in fright, for there on the wooden shield in the dim light was the figure of a hideous monster at the mouth of a cave. Poisonous fumes issued from its wide jaws, and flames darted from its eyes. Leonardo had gone out into the fields and collected specimens of all the grotesque creatures he could find; newts, frogs, lizards, dragonflies, bats, and snakes. These he had dissected in his secret room, and, copying the eye of one, the wing of another, and the tail of a third, he had built up this

fearsome dragon which now, by the ingenious arrangement of lights, seemed to thrust itself out of the shield.

His father determined that a son who could produce such a work as this should have a chance to develop his talents. He took the fantastic shield to Verrocchio, one of the best artists of Florence, and Leonardo was accepted as a pupil. During these early years he had time to study the art of the great masters, but he did more than merely copy their style. Pure art was not enough for him. Painting led him to study anatomy, geography, and engineering. It is doubtful whether he was not at heart more a scientist than an artist.

He was a friend of all the great scientists in Florence and spent most of his time in study. When, however, he did emerge into society he was universally admired for his handsome appearance and his engaging conversation. This young man who seemed to be able to do anything and talk of anything, moved easily and with dignity among the lesser spirits. He possessed skill and strength in addition to intellectual power. Who could blame him for realizing his own genius and considering himself as one apart from the rest of men?

He was not averse from praising himself, for before he left Florence for Milan in 1483 he wrote a remarkable letter to Ludovico Sforza, who ruled the city, setting forth unashamedly his almost superhuman powers.

I have a method of making bridges that shall be light, strong, and easy to transport: others which cannot be destroyed by fire or battle. I am able to lay mines noiselessly, and even, if required, under a trench or a river. I will also make covered chariots immune from attack, which will be able to pass into the ranks of the enemy despite the opposing artillery. In time of peace I think I shall be able to produce work in architecture that shall equal the work of anyone. I can carry out sculpture in marble, bronze, or clay, and paint pictures as well as any other. And, if any of these projects mentioned above should seem to be extravagant or

impossible, I am prepared to carry out my demonstrations in any place that may please your Excellency, to whose gracious attention I most humbly commend myself.

Ludovico Sforza had established a court of unusual pomp and splendour in Milan and was now contemplating the erection of a gigantic statue to his father, the founder of the family. To him, Leonardo must have appeared as a kind of magician.

Leonardo spent his happiest years in Milan. Life in the court was taken up with masques and entertainments, in which he acted as master of ceremonies, devising new surprises for the entertainment of lords and ladies. During this period, too, he found time for scientific experiment. In 1484 the city was stricken by the plague, and Leonardo proposed its complete rebuilding. He even suggested streets with two levels, the higher one for the nobility and the lower one for the common people with their horses and carts. He produced plans for new castles, and a scheme for draining marshland and irrigating fields. Even then his passion for knowledge was not satisfied, and we find him undertaking series upon series of experiments, examining the moon through a glass, dissecting human bodies, speculating on the discovery of sea-shells on the tops of mountains, toying with the idea of a flying machine, based on observations of the flight of a bat.

In the midst of such activities as these we are not surprised to find that he gave little time to modelling the great horse in memory of Francesco Sforza. On certain days he would work from morning till night, on others he would simply lay on a little clay, but on most days he would do nothing at all. In the end, however, he succeeded in producing a model twenty-six feet high, representing Francesco on a horse.

At the same time his picture of the Last Supper progressed slowly. It represented Christ at the table with His



THE LAST SUPPER
(*Leonardo da Vinci*)

disciples, the very moment after He had spoken of His betrayal. They appear struck with amazement. One shrugs his shoulder, another upsets his glass, a third turns to listen, holding his knife in his hand and leaving his bread half cut, a fourth speaks into his neighbour's ear. It was painted on the wall of the refectory of Santa Maria, but Leonardo, in his anxiety to experiment with new materials, chose one which was not lasting. The subsequent value of the work seemed so small that a door was actually made through the wall where it was painted. Only in recent times have the restorers collected the discoloured flakes and placed them on the wall again so that the masterpiece remains, a ghost of the past.

Leonardo found the duke a bad paymaster; Ludovico on his side was rightly impatient at his work not being done more quickly. What would have happened we cannot tell, had not political events hastened Leonardo's departure from Milan. In 1499 Louis XII of France invaded Italy, and advanced to capture Milan; Ludovico was captured and taken to France, where he languished for the rest of his life in prison.

Leonardo was in despair. His clay model of Francesco was made a target by the Gascon archers and destroyed; his 'Last Supper' had already begun to show signs that it would not keep its freshness for long. Regretfully he left Milan, and after wandering for some time in Italy he was offered a post in the service of Cesare Borgia, not as an artist, but as an engineer. For three years he pursued the interests of his bloodthirsty master in his career of hangings and tortures.

What caused Leonardo to take up such an employment? We cannot tell. We can only conclude that he lived in complete detachment from all the horrible atrocities of which his master was guilty. He had a free passage to any town conquered by Cesare, where he made notes of the most commonplace events, such as the size of the carts,

the flight of birds, and the deep tone of the bells. Leonardo had probably long made up his mind as to the frailty of humanity. The ups and downs of political life had little meaning to one who was so entirely absorbed in the glory of the commonplace.

When Leonardo returned to Florence he found that a group of young and fashionable artists had arisen. The town was paying homage to the supreme genius of Michelangelo and Raphael. There was little room for an old man like Leonardo who had the reputation of never finishing a task he had begun.

He soon returned to Milan, where he worked intermittently, but brought almost to completion the famous painting which exists to-day. This is the famous 'Mona (or Madonna) Lisa'. Leonardo has represented this Neapolitan lady seated before a marble balcony with a background of trees and winding streams. She is not beautiful, her eyes have neither brows nor lashes, but on her face is that mysterious half-smile which has bewitched generations of artists. It has been said that, in order not to lose this rapt expression, Leonardo brought into his study musicians, who played continually during the sittings. As we look at her we can almost see her features move in recognition. Her right hand, the most perfect that artist has ever painted, lies crossed before her over her left wrist.

This is the lady who looks wistfully at us from the sixteenth century. The incomplete portrait was bought by Francis I and now hangs in the Louvre. 'For three centuries,' a French writer says, 'all who have looked on Mona Lisa have lost their heads to her.'

From 1507 Leonardo was in the employ of Louis XII of France, but in 1512 he was summoned to Rome by the new Pope, Leo X, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. But Leo soon became impatient at his slowness. 'Alas,' said the Pope; 'this man will do nothing at all, since he is thinking of the end before he has made a beginning of the work.'



MONA LISA
(*Leonardo da Vinci*)

Therefore, when Francis I offered Leonardo a post at the French court, he willingly accepted it. In this self-imposed exile he died in 1519.

Leonardo lived, and lived fully, in the spirit of his day. Like the spectator who sees more of the game than the players, he saw the world of his time, and has bequeathed his vision to us in rich colours. In the realms of art he interprets truth alike in the beauty of youth and the decay of age, flinging the convention of his forbears to the winds. His scientific speculations are enough to startle us even to-day. He conceived the use of flying machines, poison gas, and submarines, though he says himself that he refused to disclose some ideas, knowing that men would turn them to evil purpose. His ingenious mind carried him to the construction of grotesque creatures: lizards with horns, wings, and beards; mechanical walking animals from whose open breasts bouquets of flowers fell. It has been rightly said that few men have ever been so divinely endowed.

Leonardo surpassed all his fellows in quality of character as he did in beauty of form. In so many men of his kind, genius conquers grace. Art is a hard master, burning up its devotees in its fierce flames and leaving no room for human qualities to expand. These men are driven continually between the extremes of joy and despair, knowing no middle course. There is little joy in their company, for they are often intolerant and sometimes even petty and jealous. But, to Leonardo, art and science were ever his servants, and, like the free spirit he was, he made use of them, not they of him. He knew mankind of his day too well, and put himself above its petty strife. Hence he walked alone through the world. Friends were not constant enough for him; earthly ties were nothing as compared with the world of ideas; he was so far above other men that they could neither approach nor understand him. For us he stands, still serene and untroubled, as the archetype of the Renaissance and the true example of individual freedom.

CHILD DATES

- 1452. Birth of Leonardo.
- 1470. Leonardo a pupil of Verrocchio.
- 1483. Leonardo in Milan.
- 1493. Model for statue of Francesco Sforza.
- 1494. 'The Last Supper.'
- 1499. Leonardo in Venice and Florence.
- 1500. Service with Cesare Borgia.
- 1506. 'Mona Lisa.'
- 1516. Leonardo invited to France by Francis I.
- 1519. Death of Leonardo.

EXERCISES

1. What facts go to prove that Leonardo was more of a scientist than an artist?
2. How does Leonardo express the spirit of enquiry that existed during Renaissance times?
3. Describe in detail the picture 'The Last Supper'.
4. Write in the form of a short play the story of the shield which Leonardo painted for his father.
5. What were the complaints of Leonardo's employers about his efficiency as an artist? To what were they due?
- *6. What other artists flourished during Renaissance times? Give a brief account of the life and work of any one of them.

3

THE DISCOVERERS:

(a) HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

It has been said of Henry Prince of Portugal that his life is the least important part about him. This is true, for he earned for himself little honour and glory in warfare, neither did he aspire to high positions of state. Instead of this, he

surrounded himself with ambitious manners, and his chief delight was in poring over maps and charts. Yet, if we are to understand anything of the new ideas on seamanship and exploration, we must know something at least of the mission of the man who was most responsible for the Age of Discovery.

John of the Good Memory, who married Isabella, daughter of our English John of Gaunt, was a true crusader and founded the kingdom of Portugal from the ruins of the Moorish state. He died in 1433, leaving four sons, Edward, Pedro, Henry, and Ferdinand. Henry was born in 1394. When he was nineteen years of age he was commander of a naval arsenal at Sagres on the western coast. To the ancient Greeks it had been the end of the world. Beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the beginning of the fearful unknown, Henry lived within sight and sound of the wide Atlantic. Many men had sailed out in the past, some of them famous merchants, but they had never returned.

When the fifteenth century dawned on Europe the vain attempts to capture Jerusalem had been abandoned, and the Eastern trade routes were one by one blocked up by the Turks, till there was no way left to the rich East save the still-open gate of Constantinople. Some people said, however, that Africa was an island, and that India could be reached by sailing round it. In ancient times men had been sent out by an Egyptian Pharaoh to explore the route. If only the Portuguese could find it, treasure and empire would be theirs.

Yet not even the boldest adventurer dared to sail far, for stories were told of innumerable terrors in lands where the sun blazed forth with sweltering heat and the coast became barren and yellow. Far to the south a huge cape jutted out into the sea, and round it a fierce current swept like a flood welling up from the underworld. Sailors returned with stories of boiling rivers at the entrance to the Sea of Darkness, where men were turned into blacks and



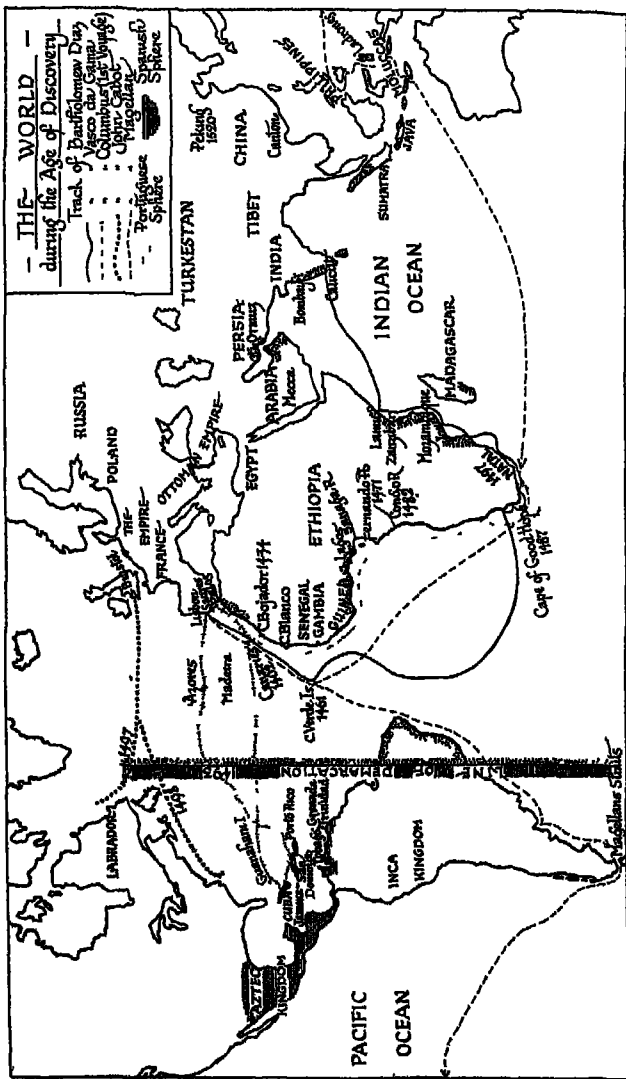
THE FRA MAURO MAP

This map shows the amount of knowledge accumulated by geographers at the end of the Middle Ages. The information was collected from travellers who had returned from the east, and from sailors who had journeyed along the African coast. It shows clearly which lands had been explored, which had been visited, and how much was filled in from guesswork.

their ships lay becalmed for ever in an expanse of slimy weed in which lived all manner of monsters.

Henry's aim in life was to disprove these terrifying stories. He was encouraged in his work by his elder brother, Pedro the Traveller, who had brought back from his voyages maps of every part of the known world. Henry gathered around him the most enterprising captains of the day, built ships for them, and sent them further and further down the coast of Africa, but they were all turned back by the forbidding Cape Bojador, the 'Bulging Cape'. At last he refused to hear their excuses and sent back one of them, Gil Eannes, saying, 'Round the cape, if you do nothing further. Do not come to me with stories told by seamen who cannot use either needle or chart. Go out again, for, by God's help, fame and profit must come from your voyage'.

Gil Eannes went again, this time not daring to return till he had rounded the formidable cape. When he came in sight of it he put his ship out to sea in order to avoid the strong current. There he found the sea as smooth and placid as the waters at home. Other venturers followed him, and great progress was made. As the sailors went further and further south they found traces of trading caravans, and four hundred miles beyond Bojador for the first time they found natives. Henry was a true crusader and was glad when he heard the news. Had he had his way, missionaries would have worked among the African natives, but that was not to be. After 1443, when Nuño Tristram reached the rich lands of Senegal and Gambia, other men, who had previously hung back in fear, now entreated Henry for permission to go south. Henry now saw the tracks of his gallant captains followed by men whose only aim was profit and the piling up of treasure. They coasted in their ships till they saw African villages, where they carried out raids, filling their holds with captives. On 8th August 1445 the first slave-market was opened at Lagos. We have a



graphic description of the mental torments of the poor natives. 'Some held down their heads cying piteously, others stood moaning wretchedly, sometimes looking up to heaven, calling out with shrieks of agony, beating their foreheads with their hands and making their moan in a sort of dirge, for, though one could not understand the words, the sense of all was plain in the agony of those who uttered them.' The institution of negro slavery was one of the most unfortunate consequences of the work of Henry the Navigator.

In 1445 Cape Palmas had been passed and the old stories of boiling seas were proved untrue. In the same year a great armada assembled at Blanco. All the most famous sailors of the world were there, and together they set off for the south. Many of them, seeing chances of rich rewards in the slave-market, dropped out of the armada to pursue their own ends, but a few, now known as the 'Perseverants', reached a river of sweet water, which they thought to be the Nile. Thus the Sanaga River was discovered.

Henry was now over fifty years of age, and during his life great progress had been made, but his attention was diverted from schemes of exploration by the growing menace of the Turk in the east. He himself was the true son of a crusading family and deemed it a virtue to hate all Turks, Moors, and Jews. The project of a war against the Turks failed, but Henry struggled vigorously for nine years against the Moors in North Africa. This gave him little time for schemes of exploration. His work was done, and we still possess a record of his achievements in the map of Fia Mauro, drawn in a monastery near Venice.

'In the year of Christ 1460 the Lord Infant Henry fell sick in his own town on Cape St. Vincent, and of that sickness he died on Thursday, November 13th, of the selfsame year.'

He had done a great work. Though not an explorer

himself, he made exploration possible for others. He was tall, strong, and fairhaired, but his skin was tanned a rich brown by constant exposure to the sea winds. His earnestness in the cause of exploration was only equalled by his piety and his reverence for holy things. He sought a new world, but he was strictly faithful to the old. To him the new ideas and discoveries were only a means of spreading far and wide the civilization and, especially, the Christianity of Europe. He was himself brave and could not tolerate cowards. If any man returned from a voyage with his end unaccomplished, and could not offer a satisfactory excuse for his failure, Henry's anger knew no bounds. Rage overcame him and, like his forbears the Plantagenets of England, he could strike terror into the boldest spirits.

Henry's nephew, Alfonso V, carried on his work and encouraged the new generation of mariners. In 1471 Fernando Po discovered the island which bears his name, and four years later the Equator was crossed. In 1482 Diego Cam reached the mouth of the Congo and erected pillars there. Three years later he explored another fifteen hundred miles of coast-line and reached Walvis Bay.

Four years later John II gave to Bartholomew Diaz the task of carrying out further exploration and gave him a large annual income as payment for 'services yet to come'. Diaz set off and, keeping close to the coast, passed Cam's furthest point, then he put out to sea and sailed for many days till he reached the coast of South Africa. He followed this for a long time, and not until his officers and men insisted on it did he return, to discover the Cape and Table Mountain. Struck with its ruggedness, he named it 'Cabo Tormentoso', or the 'Cape of Storms'.

At the same time John sent another explorer, Covilham, by the way of Egypt and Aden, to the Indian Ocean. Covilham reached the Malabar Coast, and heard reports of the existence of Madagascar, or the 'Island of the Moon'. John was certain, when he received both reports, that he

had at last found the route to the east, and he gave the Cape of Storms a new name, 'Cabo da Boa Esperança', or the 'Cape of Good Hope'.

The long story of exploration was completed by Vasco da Gama twelve years later. With four vessels he sailed to the Cape Verde Islands and then made for the open sea. After describing a semicircle he arrived at the Cape, and, proceeding along the coast, passed the last pillar which Diaz had set up. On Christmas Day, 1497, he arrived at a land which he named Natal in memory of the occasion. In three months he had connected the African route with that discovered by Covilham, and had reached Mozambique, where he met the dhows of Arab traders. In spite of their hostility he succeeded in procuring a guide to take him across the wide Indian Ocean. On 23rd May he arrived at Calicut and the long eastward voyage was over.

In July 1499 the Portuguese ships reached Lisbon amid general rejoicing, and landed the first cargo of Indian goods: ginger, pepper, and cinnamon from the mainland, and precious stones from Ceylon. They had covered twenty-four thousand miles in six hundred and thirty days, but, in doing so, half the crews had been lost through disease.

The work of Henry the Navigator had thus not been in vain. A Portuguese empire, the dream of the early kings, was now realized. Further discoveries were made, and, under Albuquerque, a famous explorer and governor, the great empire was consolidated. In 1516 over fifteen hundred Portuguese houses had been erected in Canton; in 1520 Peking, the city of the great Khan, was reached, and Europe entered the great Mercantile Era.

CHIEF DATES

- 1394. Birth of Henry.
- 1434. Cape Bojador rounded by Gil Eannes.

- 1443. Gambia reached by Nuño Tristram.
- 1445. First slave-market opened at Lagos.
- 1445. Sanaga River reached by the 'Perseverants'.
- 1460. Death of Henry.
- 1471. Island of Fernando Po reached.
- 1486. Commencement of Covilham's voyage.
- 1486-7. Voyage of Bartholomew Diaz.
- 1497-9. Voyage of Vasco da Gama.

EXERCISES

1. What were the chief ambitions of Henry the Navigator? Show how they were realized.
2. Why did the sailors of the Middle Ages fear to venture on unknown seas? How were their fears proved groundless?
3. What great evil resulted from the Age of Discovery? Describe a typical scene.
4. Write an essay in dramatic form on the doubling of Cape Bojador.
5. Give an account either of the voyage of Bartholomew Diaz or the voyage of Vasco da Gama.

(b) CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

AMONG the immigrants to Portugal during the time of John II was a Genoese sailor who, in company with his bookish brother, now kept a shop in Lisbon where compasses, charts, and astrolabes were sold. His name was Christopher Columbus.

Columbus was born in one of Europe's busiest ports. He had wandered about its wharves and quays, listened to stories, and dreamed his own dreams. At the age of fourteen he had already begun the life of a rover. The story of Columbus is that of a man who was possessed all his life by one idea, and who pursued it unfalteringly till it brought its reward. He believed that the earth was round. Endless arguments on the subject must have taken place in the

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mapmaker's little shop at Lisbon. On the one hand were those who stated dogmatically that far out in the Atlantic stretched the Sea of Darkness, on the other were those who supported the theories of the new geographers. Columbus carefully examined all, and out of his secret thoughts came a fervent belief, to the service of which he was destined to give his life.

In 1479 Columbus went to Madeira to visit his wife's brother, who was governor of the small island of Porto Santo. With little to see or do, he had plenty of time for thought during his long residence there, and must often have gazed out to sea from the rocks and wondered what lay beyond that mysterious expanse. Many strange things had been washed ashore here, pieces of carved wood, canoes large enough to carry eighty men, pieces of cane which, between the joints, were wide enough to hold four gallons of wine. There must, then, be a land beyond that vast ocean. Could it be China or India?

In 1481 the Portuguese admiral Azumbaga led an expedition to the coast of Guinea, and Columbus was put in charge of a caravel. The expedition returned with honour, bringing back King Caramassa and a shipload of blacks armed with assegais. Columbus, now a person of some standing, decided to ask the king to fit out an Atlantic expedition. But John was not enthusiastic. He appointed a council to examine the plan—three men who were 'so stuffed full with learning that they could not take in any more'. In order to have some grounds for rejecting it, they sent out a pilot to the west. He cruised for some time beyond the Azores, but, terrified by the waste of waters, he returned.

Columbus' money was now gone, his wife had died, and he had to flee from Lisbon by night. He went on foot to Spain and sought out the Queen Isabella. But Spain was at war with the Moors, and its monarchs could give scant attention to a wandering seaman, perhaps a maniac, who

swore that he could reach China by sailing the wrong way.

Other attempts followed. Christopher's brother, Bartholomew the mapmaker, went to England and France, but could get no help. At last, however, Columbus found his first friend in Juan Perez, the prior of the monastery of La Rabida near Palos. Here, footsore and travel-stained, he had stopped one day with his little son Diego to rest, and, when talking to the monks, he had been noticed by the prior. To him Columbus explained his beliefs and found a warm supporter. The prior was confident that he could get the queen's support. After many failures, a personal interview was arranged between Columbus and the two monarchs. Isabella, seeing the proud, grave mien of the stranger, whose blue eyes were yet full of enthusiasm and conviction, believed that here was a man sent by heaven. Ferdinand was very sceptical, and Columbus had to face another council, only to fail again. The learned men would never learn!

In 1492 Granada was taken from the Moors, and Spain could think of peace. Isabella now listened, not to Columbus, but rather to the old prior of La Rabida, who with earnest words, and eyes to which the tears welled, urged the monarchs to soften their hearts.

He was successful. 'Our Lord has listened to the prayers of his servant,' he wrote. 'The wise and virtuous Isabella gave favourable hearing to the words of this poor monk. She has adopted your project and has summoned you to court. My heart swims in a sea of comfort and my spirit leaps with joy in the Lord.'

Columbus was now ready to make terms. He insisted that when he made discoveries he should take one tenth of all profits and be made viceroy of all new lands. When the king would not agree, Columbus vowed that he would take his schemes to the King of France. Isabella begged her husband to give way. 'I will pawn my jewels,' she said, 'to meet the expenses.'

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Columbus now began to fit out his fleet. He found friends in three wealthy merchants of Palos, the brothers Pinzon, two of whom promised to go on the voyage. A few good sailors were obtained, but the crews were mostly made up of the dregs of the town and the refuse of the prisons. By the end of July, eighty-seven men had been mustered, together with two doctors, a silversmith, and interpreters of the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic languages.

The greatest journey in the world began on a Friday. On 3rd August 1492 the *Santa Maria*, Columbus' ship, with two smaller ones, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, set off for the unknown. Columbus has left us the record of his journey, written during those eventful days. On 6th August the rudder of the *Pinta* came loose—broken, Columbus believed, by two of his crew who did not want to go on the voyage. It was rigged up with ropes and on 9th August the Canaries were reached.

On 6th September they left to face the unknown terrors. The flaming peak of Teneriffe struck fear into many, who thought it was the sword of the angel which drove Adam and Eve out of Eden. Two hundred leagues farther on, Columbus noticed that the compass was varying from the true north, and had to invent the explanation that the variation was caused by the new stars under which they were sailing. It was accepted with some murmurings. On 14th September the crew saw a bird, which convinced them that land was near, but they were disappointed when they sailed into an expanse of weeds like a meadow, through which the ship's prow cut its way. At last these were left behind, and vast expanses of calm sea appeared. The men were now restless and difficult to master. Columbus had to keep two records of the distance covered, a false one for the sailors and the true one for his own guidance. He knew only too well that to turn back now would mean terrible hardships, if not death for all. One morning they heard a cry from the *Pinta*, 'Land ho!'

but those who climbed the rigging could see no land. On 7th October a gun was fired from the *Niña*, but again there was only a low bank of cloud in sight. Food and water were growing scarce. The crew were ready to mutiny, but Columbus met them with quiet dignity, and swore that if no land was sighted in three days he would make for Spain again.

The oath was accepted; but before the end of the three days many signs of land appeared: a carved stick, a bough in blossom, a branch bearing a bird's nest on which the bird was sitting, rocked to and fro by the waves. In the night which followed, Columbus saw from the deck a blaze of fire, but he told nobody. Before daybreak a cannon-shot and a cry of 'Land ho!' were heard from the *Pinta*. Sails were furled and the crews of all three ships waited breathlessly for dawn.

It came at last and revealed the shores of an island on which the surf was breaking. In the distance were green trees, huts like beehives, and dark figures moving about. Columbus solemnly donned his insignia, rowed ashore, and, in the presence of all, prayed aloud after kissing the ground. The island was solemnly claimed for Ferdinand and Isabella, and Columbus was now a viceroy.

Viceroy of what? Of a small island twelve miles by six, inhabited by a few half-naked natives who did not know the use of metal, for, when he held out his sword, one of them seized it and cut his hand. One thing, however, Columbus noticed. Many of them wore on their persons ornaments of pure gold. He brought away many trinkets, captured seven natives, and set out to find this land of gold.

This island was called by the natives, Guanahani, but Columbus gave it the name of San Salvador. We know it to-day as Watling Island. From here he sailed to Cuba, where Martin Alonzo Pinzon, captain of the *Pinta*, decided to do a little exploring on his own account, and left the other two ships. On 6th December Columbus discovered



COLUMBUS AT THE COURT OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA
(Balboa)

Haiti, now known as San Domingo, a lovelier land than he had ever seen before. Here the *Santa Maria* foundered on a sandbank, and now he had only one ship. He therefore left some of his men behind in a fort, and set off for home. On 6th January he met the *Pinta* quite by chance and in February the two ships reached the Azores after a stormy voyage. Columbus touched the coast of Europe near Lisbon and was compelled to put in there. John II sent a courier to convey the good news to the monarchs of Spain.

On 15th March 1493 a joyful crowd was assembled at Palos harbour, and Columbus was brought triumphantly ashore. Ferdinand and Isabella gave him a most honourable reception. He sat on the same level as his two sovereigns and told the long story of his voyage. But the proudest man of all was Juan Perez, prior of La Rabida. Columbus again visited the little monastery, and the two men thanked God for success.

The rest of Columbus' life was one of great disappointments. In his second voyage, made in 1493, he found that those of the crew whom he had left behind had perished, and he learned from the natives the dismal story of how his men had defrauded a neighbouring chief, who had taken terrible vengeance on them. Many islands, including Cuba, Jamaica, and Haiti were explored before Columbus returned in 1496.

His third voyage was undertaken two years later, and included the exploration of Tobago, Grenada, and San Domingo. But now the court of Spain turned against him because of the complaints of the colonists. A new governor was appointed, and Columbus was brought back to Spain in chains. He made one more voyage in 1502 and explored other islands, but in 1504 Isabella died, and Ferdinand neglected him. He died in obscurity in 1506.

The greatness of Columbus is due to the fact that his life was the fulfilment of an idea. The conviction he cherished was strong enough to surmount all obstacles.

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He was followed by a series of explorers who opened up new lands. Amerigo Vespucci, after whom the continent is named, explored the coast of South America in 1499. Balboa sighted the Pacific in 1513. Cortes conquered Mexico in 1518, and Pizarro defeated the Incas of Peru some twelve years later.

The great idea of Columbus was not, however, realized till 1522. He believed to the end of his days that he had discovered Asia, but those who followed him found that this was not so. The first man to reach Asia from the east was Ferdinand Magellan, who set out from Spain in 1519 to find a western route to the Spice Islands. Sailing southwards along the coast of South America, he found a way westwards through the straits that now bear his name. Then followed a journey of over three months across the Pacific Ocean. His crew literally starved, and were reduced to eating the oxhide from the rigging. In January 1521 they reached the Ladrões, or the Islands of Thieves, and in March the Philippines, where Magellan was killed by the natives. The rest made their way home through the Moluccas, across the Indian Ocean and round the Cape. When they reached Spain in September 1522 only eighteen men were left out of the crews of five ships.

Thus the efforts of the Spaniards and Portuguese opened up the world to the enterprise of modern times. It was acknowledged that Spain had the primary right to the West Indian Islands and Portugal to the African Coast, and efforts were made to fix their spheres of influence. These resulted in a papal Bull in 1493. The boundary set up by this Bull followed an imaginary line out in the Atlantic, running from north to south, three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Exploration, trade, and conquest might be carried on west of this line by Spain, and east of it by Portugal. After the circumnavigation of the globe, another boundary, or 'Line of Demarcation', was set up in the Pacific. Soon, however,

other countries entered into the struggle for treasure and trade. Thus the world began to take on a new form, and the modern era of commercial empires had its beginning in the sixteenth century.

CHIEF DATES

1451. ?	Birth of Columbus.
1476.	Columbus in Lisbon.
1479-81	Columbus at Porto Santo.
1483-91.	Columbus in search of a patron.
1491.	Columbus at La Rabida.
1492-3.	First voyage.
1493-6.	Second voyage.
1498-1500.	Third voyage.
1502-4.	Fourth voyage.
1506.	Death of Columbus.

EXERCISES

1. On what grounds may Columbus be considered greater than any other explorer of his day?
2. Write an imaginary letter from Columbus to any ruler, stating clearly what grounds he had for his belief in a land beyond the Atlantic.
3. Why did it take so long for Columbus to find a king who would equip a fleet?
4. Why, in spite of his discoveries, did Columbus die poor and unhonoured?
5. What effects had the work of Columbus (*a*) on the future of America, (*b*) on the progress of discovery?
- *6. Write a short essay on the conquest of Central America by the Spaniards.

4

THE SCHOLAR:
DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

It is one of the jokes of history that the greatest Renaissance scholar, who knew Latin and Greek as well as if they had been his native tongue, should go down to posterity bearing a name which is both clumsy and grammatically incorrect. Desiderius and Erasmus are Latin and Greek respectively for the same thing, and are intended to mean 'the desired one'. This is the name by which Gerhard Gerhardson became known when he took holy orders. He was the son of Gerhard, the Dutch manuscript copier whom Charles Reade has immortalized in *The Cloister and the Hearth*, but who in history appears only in the glory reflected from his great son.

Gerhard Gerhardson had a most unfortunate life as a boy. His father and mother lived apart, and on their deaths he found himself at the mercy of an unscrupulous guardian whose sole aim was to put Gerhard into a monastery, and to take all the money that had been left for the boy's upbringing. Gerhard was sent to a school in which all the high spirits were flogged out of him. For three years he lived in complete agony of mind. He did not want to be a monk, but his guardian and the Fathers who taught him thought otherwise. At last he gave in, broken by the torments he had endured, and looking forward to holy orders, if not with joy, at least as a relief from suffering.

For another five years he endured miseries only exceeded by those he had passed through in his schooldays. He was pale and haggard, and could not sleep at night. His brother monks were poor successors of the holy St. Augustine, for they lived evil lives and scorned Erasmus, who

would not join them. At odd intervals during the day, when the brothers were occupied with their pleasures, he was compelled to steal away to his study, where he could read a line or two of Latin and Greek. By this means he gained some reputation as a scholar, and it was with relief that he learnt, in 1491, that the Bishop of Cambrai was willing to accept his services as a secretary.

He was five years in this employment, but his zeal for learning was too strong to keep him there. In 1496 he went to Montaigu College in Paris to pursue his studies. Even here he was doomed to disappointment. Bad food and insanitary quarters wrought havoc on his weakly frame, and he was disgusted at the narrow and unfruitful learning which flourished there. It seemed to him nothing more than the dry bones of medieval scholasticism picked clean of everything which might profit the mind. At last he was forced to leave, his mind full of chagrin, and his body, as he says, full of infection and with a large supply of vermin. He now became a travelling scholar, earning his living by teaching others.

A life of hardship had left its mark on him, but it had sharpened his wits. He knew how to assess men at their proper value, and to find the truth by serious thought. He saw before him a world full of wrongs and superstitions, which other men would have condemned with words of burning eloquence. This was not his way. Instead, his calm disposition and his refined sense of humour led him to become the most renowned satirist of his time.

In those days every prince in Europe was looking out for learned men to grace his court, and Erasmus at last found a patron in Lord Mountjoy, who invited him to England. He met John Colet, son of the Lord Mayor of London, who was just about to be ordained as a clergyman, and another young English scholar, Thomas More. Between them a strong friendship sprang up. Erasmus was pleased with his new surroundings. 'In England,' he says, 'all is polish



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ERASMUS AND THOMAS MORE VISIT THE CHILDREN
OF HENRY VII
(*F. Cadogan Cowper, A.R.A.*)

and learning, not empty show. When I listen to my friend Colet, it seems as if Plato himself were speaking.'

Erasmus was a wanderer by nature, and, in spite of the friendliness of the people of England, he could not stay with them for long. When he announced his intention of going to Paris to read new manuscripts, Henry VII gave him a purse full of gold crowns. Once on his way, however, bad luck dogged his steps. The king, who was saving money, had ordered his customs officials to be especially vigilant, and poor Erasmus found that, even before he embarked for France, his gold crowns were all taken from him. To add to his mortification, he was miserably sick during the crossing, and arrived at Paris as ill as he had been when he left that city two years before.

The next six years were spent in wanderings through France and the Netherlands. He could have settled down to a pleasant life had he wished, for he was pressed to take an official position at the University of Louvain. Gradually, however, Erasmus had realized that life for him was moving to a definite end, to do what he could to destroy all that was bad in medievalism and to put in its place the revived learning of Greece and Rome. Only a genuine scholar could do all this, and Erasmus realized that, though he had the scholarship and the reputation, he had not yet acquired that last requisite—a high-sounding title. 'If I am to continue this work,' he wrote, 'I must visit Italy and I must gain the absurd title of Doctor. It will not make me a hair the better, but, as times go, no man can be accounted learned, despite of all which Christ has said, unless he is styled "Magister".' Twice he nearly lost his life during the plague which was raging in Milan. The doctors all had to wear white scarves wherever they went, so that people could easily recognize and avoid them. The white band which Erasmus wore as part of the uniform of his Order was very much like this scarf, and twice he carelessly ventured too near the frightened

citizens, who turned and pursued him. At last he discarded his white band and from that time his costume was only half clerical.

During this time he visited Venice, Padua, Siena, and Rome, but the chief fruit of his Italian journey was the fact that at Turin University he was made a Doctor of Divinity. He was urged to stay in Rome, and would probably have made a great name in the Catholic Church had he done so. But in 1509 he received a letter from Lord Mountjoy saying that Henry VII had died, and that with his son Henry VIII a golden age of English culture was to begin. He therefore tore himself away from Rome.

Once again under Thomas More's roof, he was free to work in pleasant surroundings. In a week he produced *The Praise of Folly*, one of the most famous books of the Renaissance, a satire on those who, with their decayed medieval learning, had made him suffer so much. In his book, Folly puts on her cap and bells and delivers a speech to all her worshippers. The schoolmasters who taught him Latin appear again as 'a race of men the most miserable, who grow old in penury and filth in their schools. Schools, did I say? Prisons, dungeons, I should have said, among the boys, deafened with din, poisoned by a foul atmosphere, but, thanks to this folly, perfectly self-satisfied so long as they can bawl and shout to their terrified boys, and beat and flog them, and so indulge, in all kinds of ways, their cruel disposition'. The monks, his old companions, are treated no better. 'Whence the race of new Jews?' he wrote. 'Men who bray out in the churches with asinine voices a stated number of psalms of which they do not understand one word.' Even the Popes received their share of the satire. 'Decrepit old men,' he calls them, 'displaying the vigour of youth, shrinking from no toil, stopped by nothing if only they can turn law, religion, peace, and all human affairs upside down.'

This work established the fame of Erasmus, and even in

Rome it was well received. The Church had already realized the truth of his criticisms. This attack, therefore, was not considered as an assault from outside, but as an attempt from one high in the Church's esteem to purify it from old evils. The Popes themselves were in no way alarmed, for both Julius II and Leo X were followers of Renaissance culture, and agreed with Erasmus in rooting out the evils of the Middle Ages. The tone of satire in which the book was written, and its fine humour, which caused all understanding men to smile at the absurdities of the old system, saved the book from making enemies for its author. Erasmus at one blow discomfited all the destroyers of his youthful happiness, and the world loved him better for it.

Erasmus' stay in England had been pleasant, but the golden age of literature had not appeared, for Henry VIII forsook letters to gain renown in war. After 1515 Erasmus saw no more of England. He again became a wanderer, in a Europe now distracted by new political troubles. At last the great religious dispute known as the Reformation broke out, and, much against his will, Erasmus found himself involved in it. His refusal to take sides caused him to be fiercely attacked by Luther. Time and time again he appealed for unity, but the reforming movement had gone too far.

The last years of his life were spent in German towns in vain attempts to bring about peace. He was daily becoming weaker, and, when at Freiburg he heard rumours of his own death, he admitted that they were not altogether false, for he was rapidly declining in health and the end was not far off. He described himself as an 'animalculum', a wretched little creature with not a day's life left in him. In July 1536 he died at Besançon, neglected and forgotten in the magnitude of the titanic religious struggle, without even the benefits of the Sacrament being administered to him.

Europe of those days owed a debt to Erasmus, for he was one of the few men who, in his own time, saw the deep significance of its prevailing movement. He grasped the meaning of the Renaissance as no other man had done, and worked all his life to make it a means of freeing man's mind from passion and prejudice. His appeal was to human reason, and he asked Europe to cast off her worn-out rags of medievalism, and to reclothe herself with the radiant garment of tolerance and goodwill which would bring a reign of freedom and happiness into the world. Had his counsels prevailed, the Reformation would not have appeared in such a savage guise; but human nature is frail, and, if the urgings of Erasmus did not find a ready response, the fault did not lie in him.

CHIEF DATES

- 1467. Birth of Erasmus.
- 1486. Erasmus in holy orders.
- 1491. Erasmus secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai.
- 1496. Erasmus a student at Montaigu College.
- 1497-8. Invitation to England.
- 1506. Journey to Italy.
- 1509. Accession of Henry VIII. Erasmus in England again.
- 1509. *The Praise of Folly* written (published 1512).
- 1515. Last visit to England.
- 1517-21. Luther's defiance of the Pope.
- 1529-33. Erasmus pleading for unity in the Catholic Church.
- 1536. Death of Erasmus.

EXERCISES

1. What was the mission of Erasmus? What events in his life made him take up this mission?
2. What is a satire? Explain why *The Praise of Folly*, though criticizing the ways of the Middle Ages, did not bring its author many enemies.

3. How did Erasmus' life in England help him to carry out his work?

*4. Write a short essay on the life and work of either Dean Colet or Thomas More.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| Horsburgh. | <i>Lorenzo de' Medici.</i> |
| Mrs. Oliphant. | <i>Makers of Florence.</i> |
| Armstrong. | <i>Lorenzo de' Medici.</i> (Heroes of the Nations.) |
| Vasari. | 'Leonardo da Vinci' (in <i>Great Short Biographies of the World</i>). |
| Bax. | <i>Leonardo da Vinci.</i> |
| Ludwig. | <i>Genius and Character.</i> (da Vinci.) |
| McKiliam. | <i>Highways of the World.</i> |
| Baker. | <i>A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration.</i> |
| Beazley. | <i>Hemý the Navigator.</i> (Heroes of the Nations.) |
| Markham. | <i>Christopher Columbus.</i> |
| Columbus. | <i>Journal of the First Voyage</i> (1494). |
| Filson Young. | <i>Christopher Columbus and the New World of his Discovery.</i> |
| Irving. | <i>Christopher Columbus.</i> (Heroes of the Nations.) |
| Froude. | <i>Life and Letters of Erasmus.</i> |
| Seebohm. | <i>The Oxford Reformers.</i> |
| Lilly. | <i>Renaissance Types.</i> |
| Van Dyke. | <i>Renaissance Portraits.</i> |
| Dark. | <i>Five Deans.</i> (Colet.) |

CHAPTER III

KINGS IN CONFLICT

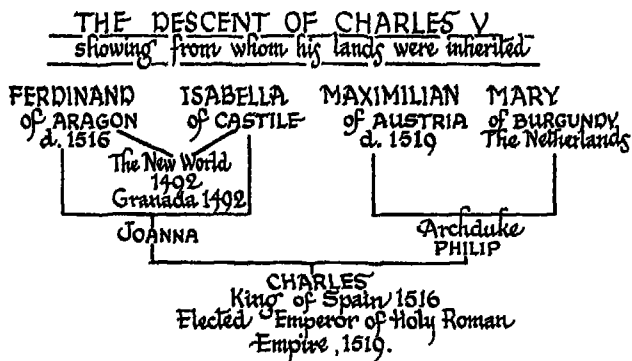
THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

ON the evening of 24th February 1500, all the bells of Ghent were set ringing. Gaily decorated lanterns swung, and the dragon on the belfry of St. Nicholas belched forth Greek fire. For on that day was born a new prince, a grandson of the great Emperor Maximilian, and of Mary, Duchess of Burgundy. The boy was later destined to become King of Spain, ruler of Italy, and lord of the Spanish lands beyond the sea. His father was the Archduke Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian, and his mother was Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The young Prince Charles thus represented the union of four of the chief families of Europe, and earthly fortunes so favoured him that before he was twenty years of age he had succeeded to the lordship of dominions vaster in extent than any European ruler had held since the Roman Empire.

As a boy, Charles was pale, quiet, and retiring, graceful in body, but singularly unprepossessing in countenance. He bore the unmistakable brand of his Habsburg ancestry, an ugly lower jaw which projected so much that it hindered the proper mastication of his food and even impeded his speech. He was a rather dull boy, showing few signs of the mental brilliance which we find in most princes of his day. Though he was destined to rule over many peoples, he was a poor linguist, and he detested mathematics, which were so necessary to the success of a great general. His life at court was extremely monotonous, and until he was sixteen he saw little of the world beyond. His mother left the Netherlands in 1506 and later went insane, his father Philip died in the same year, and Charles was left under the

guardianship of his father's sister Margaret, a clever and able woman, who taught Charles all he knew of statesmanship.

Charles was still in the Netherlands when Ferdinand died in 1516, and he was proclaimed King of Spain in Brussels Cathedral. The king-at-arms of the Order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece cried out twice, 'Don Ferdinand', and the answer came, 'He is dead'. At this the royal standard crashed on the floor of the cathedral. Then came the voice again: 'Long live Donna Joanna and Don Carlos, by the



grace of God Catholic kings'. Charles now took off his mourning clothes and brandished the sword of justice.

In September he set sail for Spain in the royal ship, magnificently fitted out and with pictures of the Crucifixion, the Trinity, St. Christopher, St. Nicholas, the Virgin, and St. James painted in gold and bright colours on the sails. Musicians performed, and games were played to while away the time, till at last the coast of Asturias was sighted. A long journey, across the hills and through the villages of Spain, brought the new king at last to Valladolid, where he began his reign.

In 1519 Maximilian of Habsburg died, leaving the

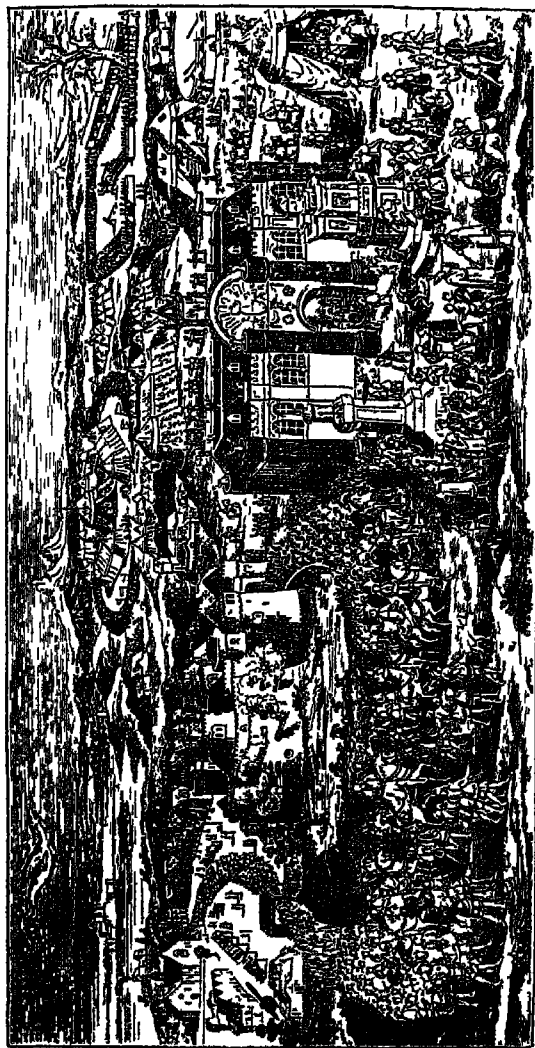
throne of the Holy Roman Empire vacant. Charles was not the only candidate. Henry VIII of England was also ambitious enough to offer himself for election, but a far more dangerous rival was Francis I, the new King of France. This young monarch had already invaded Italy, and at the battle of Marignano had covered himself with glory. His free, open-handed ways, his love of pleasure, and his genial nature had endeared him to his people, who were convinced that France was about to enter a period of prosperity unknown before. This handsome and splendid king, who lavished money without stint on a magnificent court of gaudy gentry and Renaissance scholars, offered a complete contrast to Charles, who was afraid of his rival's growing power.

The story of the election to the Imperial throne cannot be surpassed in all history as a record of bribery. Maximilian learned before he died that Francis was to be a candidate for election, along with his grandson Charles. He therefore purchased five of the seven votes for the huge sum of half a million gold florins. He sent the bill to his grandson in Spain and included on it an additional fifty thousand for out-of-pocket expenses. Francis offered a greater bribe and drew four of the votes back again. 'If it is necessary,' he said, 'I will spend three millions in order to be Emperor.' Charles was forced to pay another hundred thousand, but Francis sent four times that amount, and tried to intimidate the electors by raising soldiers. The princes met in 1519 at Frankfort to consider the future of the Empire. If Francis were elected he might deprive Germany of her liberty and create a solid Empire from the Pyrenees to the Elbe. Charles, on the other hand, would always be distracted by events in Spain, which was many days' voyage away, and would therefore not be able to interfere too much in the affairs of the princes. Charles, too, was a Habsburg and a German, and would be far more welcome to the people. These considerations weighed

strongly with the electors, and they decided to give him the crown

The election question caused a bitterness which could only lead to war. There was no lack of excuses, for the borders between the lands of Francis and Charles were not well defined. The little state of Navarre which lay between France and Spain had been seized by Ferdinand in 1513, and Francis was eager to regain it. On the other hand, Charles could quite legitimately lay claim to that part of Burgundy taken by Louis XI in 1482, and to Milan, which was part of the Empire. In 1519, therefore, both sides were busy seeking allies. While Charles was still in Spain he entered on negotiations with Pope Leo X, who was only too anxious to rid Italy of the hated French conqueror. Hearing too that Francis I was trying to get the King of England on his side, he set sail immediately and made a treaty with Henry VIII. Francis, without knowing it, was completely isolated.

Henry VIII had already promised to meet Francis, and in spite of having met Charles he saw no reason why he should cancel this engagement. The English king journeyed to France and was met near Ardres by a French display of unsurpassed brilliance. The whole court was there, housed in tents covered with cloth of gold and silver. Henry had a wooden palace, overlaid with silk and velvet and hung inside with valuable tapestries. From this he rode to meet Francis, and in full view of both camps the two kings saluted and kissed each other, then, dismounting, retired into a splendid pavilion, accompanied by their chief advisers. Many fair words were spoken on that day, but not a single pledge was exchanged. Twenty-five days of feasting and enjoyment followed. Tournaments were arranged, and the two kings vied with each other in showing off the prowess of their knights. Henry once playfully challenged Francis to a wrestling-match and seized him as if for a throw, but Francis, by a clever trick, tripped him so that he fell headlong. All the power of cool heads was



THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD

necessary on that occasion to prevent a personal quarrel ensuing. Nothing in history can surpass in magnificence the scene enacted at the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold'. The two kings parted with vows of friendship which neither intended to keep. Only a few days afterwards Henry met Charles again and confirmed the Spanish alliance.

The war which followed was a disastrous one for Francis, who was defeated in Navarre. Charles was delighted. 'The King of France wishes to make me greater than I am,' he cried. 'In a little while either I shall be an extremely poor Emperor or he will be a poor King of France.' Further defeats in Italy followed, and Francis had to face a combination of Charles, the Pope, and Henry VIII. His best general, Constable Bourbon, deserted to the enemy. 'All Europe is in league against me,' Francis proudly cried; 'well, I will face all Europe!'

At the end of 1524 Francis crossed into Lombardy with an army of over thirty thousand men. For once it seemed that victory was in his grasp, for the Imperial armies vanished at his approach. At last he drew up his forces before the small town of Pavia, which, with a garrison of six thousand men, stood in his way. He expected to take the town in a few days. But the days ran on to weeks, the weeks to months, and yet Francis was no nearer taking it. In January 1525, Constable Bourbon arrived to relieve it with twenty thousand men. For three weeks no battle was fought, yet still Francis lingered on. The Imperial army at last took the offensive on 24th February and the French armies were completely routed. Only Francis and a few nobles stood their ground, where they were surrounded, fighting valiantly. One by one the bodyguard fell, and the king would doubtless have been killed had he not been recognized by the enemy. Rush after rush was made to capture him, and all the while his life was in peril from flying missiles. His horse was killed beneath him, and with a few survivors he was taken prisoner. France had met

another Poitiers, this time on a foreign field. Ten thousand men had fallen, among them the very best blood in France and the cream of the nobility. It was a disaster from which there seemed to be no recovery.

Charles was in Madrid when he heard that his rival was under guard in a little Italian fortress. A Charlemagne or a Napoleon would have had no hesitation in deciding that the next step in the war was the complete reduction of France, but Charles thought this a heaven-sent opportunity to dictate his own terms. He finally decided to give Francis his freedom on condition that he renounced all his rights in Italy, Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois, and restored to the Constable Bourbon all the lands and privileges he had enjoyed before he deserted to Charles. The treaty was to be accompanied by an alliance with the Emperor, and the two were to seal the bond by a joint expedition against the Turks.

The provisions were conveyed to Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis, who was Regent of France, but she proudly answered that France would not cede an inch of land. Day by day Francis languished in the Italian prison of Pizzighettone, subject to fits of despair. He pleaded unceasingly with his guards to take him to Spain, and at last they agreed to do so. Charles was furious, but at last he decided to make Francis's captivity in Spain even more galling than it had been in Italy. He had his royal prisoner put in the dismal tower of the Alcazar, which, from a height of a hundred feet, looked over Madrid and the arid plains of Castile.

Francis did not behave in misfortune as a hero would have done. He pleaded for mercy and consideration. The bare room in the Alcazar, with its barred window and its rude furniture, preyed on his mind. He was prevented from taking exercise and was seized by a violent fever. When it was thought he was dying, Charles rode at full speed to the Alcazar and went to the captive's bedside.

Francis raised himself painfully on his elbow. 'Here I am, my lord Emperor,' he said, 'your servant and your slave.' Charles, moved with pity, kissed him. 'Not so,' he replied; 'you are my good friend and brother, and always will be.' He begged him to keep his spirits up and concentrate only on getting well. But, when the question of terms was raised, he showed himself unmovable. Margaret of Angoulême, the king's sister, who had arrived from France, was shown every consideration by Charles, but he would not give way an inch on the question of the price of freedom. Margaret returned to France disappointed. When Francis recovered he tried every ruse he could think of. He abdicated in favour of his son, but Charles did not alter his tone in the least. Francis made elaborate plans to escape, to blacken his face and change clothes with a negro attendant, but the plot was betrayed, and his guards redoubled their vigilance. At last he gave his consent to the conclusion of the Treaty of Madrid, by which he resigned all the lands in dispute, and promised to give his two sons to Charles as hostages. The treaty was ratified by Charles on 11th February 1526. Ten days later Francis left for the frontier and reached it after a month's journey. 'I am a king again,' exclaimed Francis, as he stepped on French soil.

The battle of Pavia had seemed a triumph for Charles, but it turned out to be almost a reverse. The day before Francis had signed the Treaty of Madrid, he had gathered together all the important Frenchmen who were charged with its drawing up. Solemnly swearing that all the conditions he was about to sign had been wrung from him by force, he openly announced that when he was free he intended to violate them all. On 10th May he made it known to the Imperial envoy that he had no intention of carrying out the treaty. He did more. The Pope had already joined Venice and Milan in the League of Cognac against Charles. Francis joined the alliance, and even Henry VIII, who had been Charles's ally in the last



HENRY VIII
KINGS IN CONFLICT



CHARLES V



FRANCIS I

campaign, now changed sides. Charles received the news of this almost overwhelming disappointment in silence. Five years of warfare and one year of negotiation had all been in vain. The two sons of Francis were cruelly treated by their guards; they were badly fed, badly clothed, and subjected to terrible hardships. Francis, however, was free. Though good-natured and kindhearted, he valued his gains in the political game more than he did the lives of his two sons.

Once roused, Charles determined to pursue the war with vigour. His first objective was Rome, and he vowed that he would hang Pope Clement VII. As his armies advanced to the assault, the rumour spread among Bourbon's troops that the city was to be sacked. On Monday, 6th May 1527, the first assault took place, and Bourbon was mortally wounded. The Lutheran troops from Germany, seeing before them the city of their hated enemy, swarmed in and spread destruction everywhere. A whole week of slaughter and burnings followed, in which over four thousand people were killed, the Pope was captured, and the city suffered more than it had done at the hands of Alaric eleven hundred years before.

Charles had won a second victory, but it was a fore-runner of a disaster greater than the first. The capture of Francis had surprised Europe, but now the whole of Christendom was shocked by the enormity of this new catastrophe. Francis again formally declared war on Charles, and was answered by a challenge to single combat. 'You have done a sorry, dastard deed, and I am ready to maintain this, my person against yours,' wrote Charles. For five months his herald followed the French court before he could obtain a reply. At last it came. 'You lie in your throat. Write no more, but fix the time and place.' Charles answered immediately: 'The place shall be decided by a court of honour'. Again Francis kept the herald waiting seven weeks, and even then he would not receive the letter,

but shouted the terrified herald down with cries of 'The safe conduct and the place', till the latter fled from the king's presence.

Amid such childish incidents as this the war dragged painfully on, till at last, when both sides were exhausted, an effort was made by Louise of Savoy to arrange the terms of a peace with Charles's aunt Margaret, who was still governor of the Netherlands. Charles at last consented to the provisions, which were embodied in the Treaty of Cambrai in 1529. Francis renounced all rights to Italy, Flanders, and Artois, while Charles gave up his claim on Burgundy. Francis's sons were restored to him for a ransom of two million gold crowns. Thus was signed the Peace of Cambrai, or, as some have called it, the 'Ladies' Peace'.

The Treaty of Cambrai was too 'great a disappointment for Francis. Regardless of promises, he immediately began preparing for another war to restore his fallen fortunes. He utilized the short breathing-space for accumulating vast resources and completing a system of alliances. He gained the favour of the Pope, who had suffered so much at the Emperor's hands, and the agreement of friendship was cemented by the marriage of his son Henry with Catherine de' Medici, a distant relation of Clement. Francis by this gained the Pope's approval of a proposed French reconquest of Milan. Henry VIII of England was won over by the payment of a large sum of money, and Francis made use of the discontent of the German Protestant princes to send offers of his support in case of rebellion against Charles. He even made overtures to the Turk, who was still attacking Hungary, and sent an ambassador to the court of Solymán the Magnificent to make an alliance. All Europe was shocked at this 'shameful and ignominious blot'.

All was ready, and, when in 1535 Francesco Sforza of Milan died, Francis invaded the province. In 1537, after fruitless campaigns, a ten years' truce was signed. During this period of peace the two kings kept up an appearance of

friendliness. They met personally at Aigues-Mortes, and, during the meal they had together, Francis assured Charles of his goodwill and gave him a diamond ring as a pledge of brotherhood. 'In truth,' said Charles to the Venetian envoy, 'I am full of joy, for I hope that the fortunes of Christianity and of my friends will go right well.' In 1539, when Charles was confronted with the rebellion of the people of Ghent, Francis offered him a safe conduct through France. On New Year's Day, 1540, Charles rode into Paris, where he was royally received and feasted as though he were a 'God fallen from Paradise'. In three weeks he was in the Netherlands, and the rebellion was quickly crushed.

Charles, thinking himself safe from attack, now began to pursue other schemes. But Francis was always on the alert to assail him when he least expected it. In 1541 Charles led a futile attack against the Mohammedan pirates of North Africa, and Francis saw his chance. Five large French armies attacked simultaneously in the Netherlands and the borderlands of the Pyrenees. Charles was not long in replying. The Imperial army marched into France from the north-east, and Henry VIII of England laid siege to Boulogne. Charles, dreading a Turkish invasion, suddenly proposed a treaty. The Peace of Crespi, of September 1544, ended the last war between the two monarchs. Neither had gained the least advantage.

A generation before, three kings had ascended thrones, and each had hoped to bring to his country glory, conquest, and a final permanent peace. In 1544 three disappointed men retired from the struggle, all prematurely old, and weighed down with disease and care. Henry VIII, who had juggled so expertly with alliances, had gained nothing. He died in 1547, having squandered his country's money, debased her coinage, and dissolved her monasteries. At the news of his passing, Francis I received a shock from which he never recovered, and he died a disappointed man

in the same year. He had done much and destroyed much. He had adored luxury, and had exhausted his country with the expense of keeping a magnificent court in which every noble 'carried his estate on his back'.

Yet Francis brought certain benefits to his country through his patronage of writers and artists. It has been said that after he won the battle of Marignano 'the Renaissance left Italy and went to France'. Though this may not be quite true, the work of Francis made his country one of the foremost in art and letters. This was the day of the great Rabelais, whose works are genial and witty and, even in their occasional coarseness, reflect the temper of the day. France also had many other minor writers. To help them all the king founded the Collège de France and the Royal Library at Fontainebleau. His ambassador in Venice collected thousands of manuscripts, and professors, among them Erasmus, were invited to come and teach. In 1530 the college began its work, but the king later forgot his former zeal and it fell on evil times. When it was revived, the name of Francis I perhaps received more credit than it deserved.

And what of Charles V? In the preceding pages, only half his life has been dealt with. He was destined to be the busiest monarch of his time, driven hither and thither by the affairs of an empire too large for him to rule. In 1521 he was faced with the revolt of Luther in Germany. Year after year he had vowed that when peace with France was restored he would deal with affairs at home. Peace came too late, and when Charles confronted the Lutherans he could not subdue them. He survived Henry and Francis by nine years, but they were years of labour and sorrow, illness and defeat. In 1556 this most miserable monarch of all retired into a monastery, broken and defeated. Two years later he followed his unhappy rivals to the grave.

CHIEF DATES

- 1500. Birth of Charles.
- 1504. Death of Isabella.
- 1506. Death of the Archduke Philip.
- 1516. Death of Ferdinand. Charles King of Spain.
- 1519. Death of Maximilian. Charles elected Emperor.
- 1519. Field of the Cloth of Gold.
- 1525. Battle of Pavia.
- 1526. Treaty of Madrid.
- 1527. Sack of Rome by the Imperial troops.
- 1529. Treaty of Cambrai.
- 1535. Declaration of war by Francis.
- 1537. Ten Years' Truce.
- 1539. Rebellion of Ghent against Charles.
- 1541. Failure of Charles's expedition to Algiers.
- 1542. Declaration of war by Francis.
- 1544. Peace of Crespi.
- 1547. Death of Henry VIII of England.
- 1547. Death of Francis I.

EXERCISES

1. How did Charles V acquire the vast dominions over which he ruled?
2. Write short character-sketches of Charles and Francis, and illustrate your points from the events of the wars. Which of these two monarchs do you blame most for the disasters of 1521-44?
3. What were the chief causes of dispute between France and the Empire at this time? Show how they were settled by the Treaty of Crespi.
4. What part was taken by powers other than France and Spain in these wars, and with what motives? How did these powers fare during the struggle?
5. Write an account of one of the following.
 - The Field of the Cloth of Gold.
 - The battle of Pavia.
 - The captivity of Francis.
- *6. In what ways did Francis I leave his country better or worse than he had found it?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING.

- Armstrong. *The Emperor Charles V.*
Batiffol. *The Sixteenth Century.* (National History of France.)
Ragg. *The Emperor Charles V and the Rise of Modern Europe.*
Robertson. *History of Charles V, Emperor of Germany.*
Johnson. *Europe in the Sixteenth Century.*

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS A NEW FAITH

I

MARTIN LUTHER

MARTIN LUTHER was born on 10th November 1483, 'I am the son of a peasant,' he says; 'my father, my grandfather, my great grandfather were all peasants.' John Luther was a miner in Mansfeld, and here Martin's childhood was spent in the care of peasants who combined religion with strictness. 'Spare the rod and spoil the child' might well have been the motto of Luther's father and mother, for they gave him no pleasure in life and punished him mercilessly for acts which to-day we should not even consider to be wrong. Yet, in spite of this, they were passionately devoted to their son, to whom they gave the best education that people of such limited means could afford. In the school at Mansfeld, and later at Magdeburg, he gained much experience of both the Bible and the rod. When he became old enough to make his own living he still continued his studies, and earned bread by singing for alms outside the houses of the wealthy, as the begging friars had done for generations. In 1501 his father was no longer poor, and 'Martinus Luther ex Mansfeld' entered the University of Erfurt, where four years later he obtained the degree of Master of Arts.

His father would have made him a lawyer and a wealthy man, but Martin had no taste for the law, preferring music and the arts. He had a good singing voice and was an accomplished performer on both the guitar and the flute. Thus, though he applied himself to study, he was not one who hid himself from others, but shared to the full the merry

life of the German student in those days. Yet, below the care-free appearance of Luther, a serious mind was working. The study of theology had made him enquire into the connection between religion and life. He was profoundly affected by the sudden death of a friend who, as some say, was struck by lightning at his side when they were sheltering in a forest. Luther was terrified. 'Help me, dear St. Anna,' he cried, 'I will become a monk.'

This vow, made in the heat of a tragic moment, he nevertheless kept. His father was enraged and his friends deeply sorry. On 16th July 1505, he invited them to spend with him the last convivial evening. The air was filled with the music of flute and viol, and with rollicking studentsongs. The next morning his friends accompanied him on the sorrowful journey to the monastery, where he knocked and was admitted.

Religion now meant everything to him. The life of an Augustinian friar was difficult, and he was assailed with many temptations. The discipline was almost too much for Luther. He tortured himself with fasts, prayed for hours at a time, and grew so thin and pale that physical work was impossible. He confessed his problems to Dr. John Staupitz, the Vicar-General of the Order, who urged him to think, not on the wrath of God, but on the love of God, which is comforting, and terrifies no one who has faith. 'Now,' he says, 'I felt born again, and it seemed to me as though heaven's gates stood full open before me, and that I was joyfully entering therein.'

In 1511 Luther learned that he was to be sent to Rome by the vicar-general on a special mission. He made the long journey across the Alps on foot, stopping at the monasteries for sleep and nourishment. It was a sheer delight to him to descend the Alps and view in wonder the lovely scenery of the Plain of Lombardy. But his joy was short-lived, for he found in Italy little of the earnest spirit which he had left behind. The monks were coarse and undisciplined. When he reached Rome he fell on his knees

in adoration. He visited the shrines and marvelled; but he soon found that true believers were few.

He stayed in Rome only a fortnight, but the impressions he gained lasted the whole of his life. His simple mind was shocked at the Italians. 'They only require you to look in a mirror to be able to kill you. In Italy the air itself is pestilential; at night they close hermetically every window, and stop up every chink and cranny.'

Leo X was at that time rebuilding the Church of St. Peter. It was a costly business and the poor Roman state could not bear the strain. Leo accordingly had to find other means of making money. He had sold the rights of appointment to bishoprics in France to Francis I. Now he determined to see what could be done in Germany. To this end he commissioned the Dominicans to conduct an organized campaign in the selling of indulgences. It had long been believed that, for every sin committed, atonement had to be made by penance and fasting, but it had become the custom, for people who had money, to pay fixed sums to the Church instead. The sale of these 'indulgences' had in the past furnished the Church with an ample source of revenue.

Martin Luther was a Doctor of Divinity and a professor at the new University of Wittenberg when he heard that the Dominican friar, John Tetzel, was in Germany selling indulgences in the streets, churches, and taverns. He was indignant that his countrymen should be thus deceived, and that so much German money should be given to enrich the Pope in Rome. At first his remonstrances were mild, but soon he grew bolder and condemned indulgences as a whole. He first wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Magdeburg. 'Never did Christ preach indulgences nor command them to be preached. I would implore you to silence these ill preachers, ere some one shall arise and, utterly confuting them and their preachings, cast discredit on your sublimity.'

The young professor had at this time no idea that the very person he referred to was destined to be himself. When he received no reply he wrote a number of articles against indulgences, now known as the Ninety-five Theses, and on 31st October 1517 he fixed them to the pillars of the gate of All Saints' Church at Wittenberg. Each thesis, or essay, emphasized and developed a single objection. Though they consisted mainly of deep theological arguments, so great was the stir caused by them that, when copies were printed, they were sold in vast numbers, and were received with great enthusiasm. 'In four days,' wrote a friend of Luther, 'they were diffused throughout all Christendom, as though the angels were postmen.' In reply, Tetzel hastily wrote a hundred and six counter-propositions, and publicly burnt Luther's works at Mainz. ✓

The struggle had now fairly begun, and great figures entered the lists on both sides. Papal apologists, such as Caietan and John Eck, summoned Luther to disputations, but they could not frighten him into recanting. In the meantime, powerful allies joined Luther. First there were the German princes, who saw in the quarrel a chance of stopping the payment of money to a power beyond the Alps. The chief of these was Luther's patron, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony and founder of the University of Wittenberg. But his chief moral support came from those German nobles who had accepted Renaissance teachings. They were led by Ulrich von Hutten, a brilliant writer who had been crowned Poet Laureate of Germany by Maximilian, and whose scathing comments on the rule of the Papacy had contrasted with the gentle satire of Erasmus.

In the meantime, Luther was living a life of almost superhuman achievement. His lectures at Wittenberg were interrupted by continual disputations. He wrote letters to the Pope protesting that he did not want to destroy Catholicism, but merely to free it of its imperfections. But

John Eck was busy in Rome drawing up a treatise on the controversy, and urging the Pope to condemn the writings of Luther in a Bull which should be circulated in all Christian lands.

The famous Bull commanded that all Luther's writings should be burnt and that he should be given sixty days in which to recant. All Germany was in a state of breathless excitement. The students at Erfurt raided the booksellers' shops, tore up the copies of the Bull, and threw them into the river, crying, 'It is a Bull, it is a Bull; let us see if it can swim'. On 10th December 1520 a notice appeared at the University of Wittenberg:

'All friends of evangelical truth are invited to assemble about nine o'clock at the Church of the Holy Cross beyond the city walls. There, according to ancient apostolical usage, the books of the papal constitutions and the scholastic theology will be burned'.

At the appointed time a bell rang and the students flocked out of the university. When they reached the appointed spot the books were piled up and the flame was applied to them. Luther then took the Bull and hurled it into the midst, crying, 'Because thou dost trouble the Holy One of the Lord, may eternal fire consume thee'.

The monkish quarrel had now become serious. Luther had, as he said, 'got pulling the Pope about by the hair of his head'. But he still had to face the Emperor.

On 28th January 1521 the Imperial Diet assembled. Luther was summoned to appear before it and was given a safe conduct to Worms. 'I will go thither,' he said to the herald, 'though I should find as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the house-tops.' On 16th April the intrepid monk faced the young Emperor. Luther was nervous; he smiled impudently, Charles thought, and moved his head up and down. When asked to recant he replied, 'I entreat your sacred Majesty to grant me the time necessary to enable me to reply with the full knowledge

of the point at issue, and without fear of blaspheming the word of God or endangering the salvation of my own soul'. Charles gave him twenty-four hours to make his final reply. That night, Luther wrote, 'I shall not recant an iota if Christ be gracious to me'.

On the next day Luther had regained his composure and faced his adversaries boldly. Arguments passed between the two sides and every possible method was employed to make him recant. But in the end, when summoned to make a final statement, he rose and addressed the Diet. 'Since, then, your Imperial Majesty and your Highnesses demand a simple answer, I will give you one; brief and simple, but deprived neither of its teeth nor its horns. Unless I am convinced of error by the testimony of Scripture or by manifest evidence, I cannot and will not retract. Such is my profession of faith, and expect none other from me. I have done. God help me! Amen!' An outbreak ensued and Luther had to be escorted out of the building by two of the Imperial guard.

All night long Charles wrestled with the problem, and the next morning, when the princes of the Empire visited him for instructions, he presented to them a paper he had written :

What my forefathers established at the Council of Constance and at other councils it is my privilege to uphold. A single monk, led astray by private judgment, has set himself against the faith held by Christians for a thousand years and more, and impudently concludes that all Christians up till now have erred. I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and soul. After Luther's stiff-necked reply in my presence yesterday I now repent that I have so long delayed proceedings against him and his false doctrines. I have now resolved never again, under any circumstances, to hear him.

Charles now authorized the issuing of the Edict of Worms which declared Luther a heretic and an outlaw.



LUTHER PREACHING IN THE WAKTEURG
(*Hugo Vogel*)

When Luther left Worms he was seized by the soldiers of the Elector of Saxony and conveyed to the Castle of the Wartburg, where he could remain safe from his enemies. Here he lived in retirement for a year, 'translating the Bible, singing German songs, playing, the flute, and inveighing against the Pope and the Devil'. While he was riding to Worms the theme of a hymn had come to his mind and he had sung it aloud, improvising the words and the music: 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott'—'A strong fortress is our God'. Soon all Germany was singing the bold and impressive strains of this 'Marseillaise of the Reformation'.

Luther's stay at the Wartburg was happy and peaceful, but he was called forth after a year by the news of excesses in Wittenberg. Lutheran extremists had moved the people to enter the churches and smash the sacred relics. Luther now sallied forth at the risk of his life, and, under the disguise of a full beard he had grown, passed through Saxony as 'Squire George', dressed in a plumed casque, a steel cuirass, and with a sword at his side. When he arrived at Wittenberg the idol-breakers fled, and quiet was restored.

More serious, however, were the political consequences of the Lutheran revolt. The Knights of Germany, led by Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, had hoped for the support of Charles against the Pope. Their disappointment at the issuing of the edict spurred them on to a rebellion by which they hoped to rid Germany of both Pope and Emperor, and to establish it as a united state. Luther tried to prevent the rising, but his words had no effect. They attacked Trèves and were repulsed. Von Sickingen died in one of his own besieged fortresses; von Hutten fled to Switzerland and no more was heard of him.

Luther might well have repeated the words of Christ, 'I come not to bring peace, but a sword'. First the Electors, then the Knights, and last of all the peasants, were swept up into the current of rebellion. In 1524 the peasants rose in

Swabia, Alsace, and the Black Forest to demand freedom from feudal dues, tithes, and forced labour; restoration of common pastures, and the right to take game and fuel from the woods for their own use. Their claims were amply justified, but they were no match for the trained armies of their lords, who put down the rebellions without mercy.

Luther was himself the son of a peasant, and might have been expected to sympathize with his kind, but the war placed him in a very difficult position. The success of his movement had depended entirely in the past on the support of the princes. Moreover, the Peasants' War had been brought about by extremists who had done all they could to discredit Luther among the people. When he passed through districts filled with rebels, and tried to pacify them, they took no notice. He was convinced that the only way was to use all the forces of the law to defeat them. He replied to their burning words by even more burning denunciations. 'I think that all peasants should perish rather than the princes and magistrates, because the peasants have taken up the sword without divine authority. The peasants are under the ban of God and of the Emperor and may be treated as mad dogs.'

By his wholesale condemnation of the lower classes, Martin Luther lost his hold on the movement he had led. He had taken the side of the princes, he must now allow the princes to go their way and to use the new religion to support their own claims to power. Charles was labouring to defeat Francis on the fields of Italy, and while he was away the Lutheran movement was safe. At the Diet of Speier in 1526, permission was given to each ruler to treat religious questions as he thought best, but in 1529 this decision was reversed. A number of princes protested and thus became known as the 'Protestants'.

In 1529 the Peace of Cambrai gave Charles a short breathing-space, during which he went to Germany to settle the religious question. Philip Melancthon, an old

friend of Luther, drew up a Protestant creed, but Charles would not accept it. The princes therefore formed an armed league at Schmalkald, and determined, if necessary, to fight for their freedom. Further troubles with the French and the Turks prevented Charles from suppressing the league. Not until the final Peace of Crespi was signed, in 1544, did he feel himself entirely free to deal with the canker that was eating the heart out of his empire.

Meanwhile, Luther was going from place to place organizing the religious side of the Protestant movement, but leaving politics to people who, like Melanchthon, were more fitted to deal with them. In 1525 Luther married Catherine von Bora, a young nun who had spent ten years in a cloister. Thus he threw aside the Roman Catholic rule that no man in holy orders should marry. At the same time he was visiting churches and drawing up the famous Catechism of the reformed religion.

The influence of Luther in Germany had by now spread to other lands. In Switzerland a reforming preacher named Ulrich Zwingli had revolted from the Catholic Church and was putting forward new and original doctrines to a large following. In 1529 it was felt that unity between the two sects was necessary, and attempts were made to reconcile the conflicting opinions of Luther and Zwingli. A conference was held at Marburg for this purpose and was attended by leading scholars, including Luther and Melanchthon. But in spite of all efforts it was found impossible to unite the two sects, and the Colloquy of Marburg had no definite results. The Reformation in Switzerland pursued its own course and in 1531 Zwingli was slain in battle.

The last days of Luther's life were not happy, for he had the disappointment of seeing the creed he had made put to the use of selfish men. He was poor, and a life of constant toil had worn down even his strong body. His mental and physical afflictions caused him almost to long for the release of death.

Poor creatures that we are! We even gain our bread in sin. Up to seven years old we do nothing but eat, drink, play, and sleep. Thence, up to twenty-one, we go to our studies, perhaps three or four hours a day, and the rest of our time we follow out our own caprices. After that we begin to work, and go on working till we are fifty, and then we become children once more.

Luther did not cease from work till the end was quite near. On 17th February 1546 he died.

The Wars of the Reformation took place after Luther's death. In 1547 Charles invaded Saxony and in the next year inflicted a severe defeat on the Protestants at Muhlberg. The Elector John Frederick of Saxony was deprived of his electoral dignity and it was given to Maurice, a distant relation who already owned half the province. Charles now tried to force a system of faith on Germany, but again the Protestants rebelled, led this time by the same Maurice of Saxony who had previously helped Charles. He was a first-rate general and had the support of all northern Germany, whose princes now regarded Charles as the greatest national enemy.

Charles, unconscious of his great danger, was leisurely collecting his troops in the Tyrol, when Maurice suddenly marched south to attack him. The Emperor had to flee for safety, and Maurice reached Innsbruck within an hour or two of his departure. At a single blow the Protestants had made themselves supreme in Germany.

Maurice, however, was not content with this, but determined that the Emperor must be completely defeated. He therefore made an alliance with Henry II of France, the son of Francis I, who agreed to invade the Netherlands. When Charles heard of this he was filled with rage. He was now getting old. Though tortured with gout, he crossed Germany and reached the Netherlands. The French had already attacked and taken Metz. In October Charles advanced to recapture it, but he could not dislodge them. Campaigning throughout the severe winter told on his

health. In January 1553 he was forced to retire. By this time he was suffering acutely. 'He is so weak and pale,' wrote the English envoy, 'as to seem a very unlike man to continue. He covets to sit up and walk, but like as he desires to be afoot, so immediately after he has been a little up, he must be laid down again, and feels himself so cold as by no means he can attain any heat. He will not want an ambassador much longer.'

Thus Charles's military career drew to a close. His wars against France had on the whole been successful, but the end of his reign was a failure. In the Empire the Protestant cause was flourishing in spite of him. Maurice of Saxony was killed in 1553, and in 1555 the two sides patched up a peace at the Diet of Augsburg. Each prince was now allowed to settle the religion of his own state and Lutherans were to keep all lands taken from the Catholic Church before 1552.

The defeated Emperor at last decided that he could no longer bear to rule. In 1555 he abdicated in the Netherlands in favour of his son Philip, and in the next year he resigned the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand, and that of Spain to Philip. On 21st September 1558 he died in the monastery of San Juste in Spain. With his death all prospect of reconciling the two great faiths died out, and Europe entered on an age of religious wars which lasted another hundred years.

In 1559 the war between France and the Empire came to an end by the Peace of Catcau-Cambresis. The French kept Burgundy, but restored all they had taken in Italy, and Philip gained, in addition, several small towns in the Netherlands. The wars of Francis and Charles had brought no definite result, but had opened up grievances which agitated Europe for many years. Added to these were the disputes now raised by the divisions in the Protestant Church. European politics became merged with religion and brought about a series of unforeseen calamities.

The age of glory foreshadowed by the Renaissance had disappeared, and, within a generation, men were repeating the follies and mistakes of their forbears of the Middle Ages.

CHIEF DATES

- 1483. Birth of Luther.
- 1505. Luther enters a monastery.
- 1512. Luther in Italy.
- 1517. Luther attacks indulgences in the Ninety-five Theses.
- 1520. Burning of the Pope's Bull.
- 1521. The Diet of Worms.
- 1523. The Knights' War.
- 1524. The Peasants' War.
- 1526. The Diet of Speier.
- 1529. Second Diet of Speier. The Protest.
- 1530. League of Schmalkald formed.
- 1546. *Death of Luther.*
- 1547. Lutherans defeated at Muhlberg.
- 1552. Charles attacked by Maurice of Saxony.
- 1555. Religious Peace of Augsburg.
- 1556. Abdication of Charles V.
- 1558. *Death of Charles V.*
- 1559. Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis.

EXERCISES

1. Why did Luther break away from the Catholic Church?
2. Explain Luther's attitude towards the Knights' and Peasants' Wars.
3. From what class of people did Luther derive support? Why did Charles vow to crush Lutheranism?
4. What were the causes of the religious war in Germany?
5. Why was Charles unable throughout the whole of his reign to subdue Protestantism?

JOHN CALVIN AND IGNATIUS LOYOLA

LUTHER's defiance of the Pope at first affected Germany alone, but when the reformers began to preach doctrines of their own, it was the signal for a long and bitter religious struggle, and champions arose on both sides.

The first of these was John Calvin, born in 1509 in Picardy, a student who enquired so earnestly into religious problems that his friends called him 'the Accusative Case'. While studying theology and law at the University of Paris, he came into contact with members of the Lutheran faith, and soon became critical of Catholicism. The persecutions of Lutherans by Francis I caused him to leave France, and eventually he settled in Switzerland. Here, under the protection of friends, he wrote his great book, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

Calvin stirred up much controversy, for he put forward a strange doctrine. He saw no use whatever for images, vestments, church ornaments, decorations, or musical instruments as aids to worship. He condemned indulgences, confession, and all other means by which, as he said, the Church took away the right of man to approach God. He believed that the minister of a church should be elected by the congregation, who should all be pious people, observing the laws of God in every detail. He prefaced his book with a warning to Francis I: 'We shall possess our souls in patience, and wait for the mighty hand of God which shall undoubtedly appear and show itself armed for the deliverance of the poor from their oppressors'.

Calvin's boldness in publishing the *Institutes* established his fame, and he was invited in 1535 by the people of Geneva to reorganize the church there. But, when he insisted on strict observance of his rules, he was compelled

to leave. Fierce quarrels between Catholics and Protestants caused the council to ask him to return in 1541. He was now no longer the untried novice of 1535, and was in a position to demand that his wishes be carried out. He therefore drew up a series of Church laws called the 'Ordonnances', by which the city was to be governed by four classes of people—the teachers, the elders, the deacons, and the consistory—all chosen from the church. The most important of these was the consistory, a body of twelve men appointed to deal with all kinds of offences. People were sent to prison for staying at home from church, for card-playing, swearing, and fortune-telling. Taverns were abolished, and houses called 'abbayes' were opened, where bread and wine could be had cheaply. In each of these the French Bible was to be put in a prominent position, and grace was to be said before every meal.

Calvin had great difficulties in carrying out these sweeping reforms, but in the end he fired the people with such enthusiasm that, not only Geneva, but many communities in France and the Netherlands were converted. Young men came from all over Europe to study his doctrines in the new university, and went out again to preach Calvinism. It was not only a religion, but a discipline for everyday life, and, to practise it, men gave up all those things in which they had previously found most enjoyment. They never took part in games or went to theatres, but lived sober lives, devoted to the Church and in strict obedience to the Commandments.

Calvinism thus succeeded where Lutheranism had failed. It inspired all who adopted it with a religious courage such as the world has seldom seen. It was the religion of the people, and they held fast to it in spite of every form of persecution and terror. To it are due the triumph of the Dutch over Philip of Spain, of the Puritans over Charles I of England, and the foundation of the New England colonies by the Pilgrim Fathers.

At the same time as Calvinism was sweeping northern Europe, a new movement was rising within the Catholic Church itself. Its founder, Don Ignaz de Loyola, was a young Spanish nobleman who had fought for Charles V against the French. In 1521 his leg had been shattered at the defence of Pampeluna in Navarre, and during his convalescence he realized that he would never be able to go to battle again. The reading of religious books filled him with a desire to be a soldier of Christ, and for the next ten years he strove to fit himself for the task. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, begged his way through Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, studied in the schools, and at last gathered around him a band of enthusiasts of Paris University who, like himself, desired to found a new religious Order.

At first the Church viewed these wandering preachers with suspicion, and more than once they were accused of heresy, but in the end the Pope was convinced that they were in earnest. Thus, by the Bull 'Regemini Militantis Ecclesiae', the 'Company of Jesus' received official recognition.

Ignatius, as the leader was now called, organized his company like an army. He was its general and owed unquestioning obedience to the Pope. He forbade his followers to fast, because it robbed them of their strength. He did not believe in the wearing of a uniform, because it was not always desirable for a Jesuit to be distinguished from other men. Both inside and outside the movement he encouraged spying, and no Jesuit was expected to keep secret information from the Order. The novice had to pass through two years' rigorous training, which included travel, work in the hospitals, and manual labour. From this he might pass on to a university and become a scholar, or he might become a 'coadjutor', or 'helper'. The spiritual coadjutors were the priests, and the lay coadjutors were always at hand to carry out any task required of them.

Ignatius wrote a book of *Spiritual Exercises*, which afterwards became the guide of all novices. He believed that just as the body needs exercise to keep it fit, so the spirit must also keep healthy and strong in this way. The course covered a period of four weeks beginning with contemplation of self, and meditation on sins. After this the life of Christ was studied in detail for the realization of perfection. Finally the pupil was taught that all his strength and power should be given to God's purposes. 'Take, O Lord, and keep all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my will, whatsoever I have and possess. Thou hast given all these things to me; to Thee, O Lord, will I restore them. All are Thine. Dispose of them according to Thy will.' The *Spiritual Exercises* were thus a powerful force for binding novices to the movement and making them useful workers.

The Jesuits were the founders of a splendid educational system, and their schools were so good that Protestant parents often sent their children, some of whom were converted. Such schools thus became an important missionary ground, from which Jesuit teachers, tutors, and secretaries went to all parts of Europe. With education was coupled missionary work, in which the Jesuits also excelled. They preached against heresy in Italy, Portugal, France, and Ireland, and converted the heathen in distant parts of the world. The most famous of these Jesuit missionaries was Francis Xavier, who founded missions in India, and whose letters were published as a textbook for all who desired to take up this kind of work.

Jesuit influence was, however, most strongly felt in Europe, where the struggle between Catholic and Protestant was now becoming widespread. The growth of Protestant movements had already persuaded the high officials of the Church that they must take stock of their position. 'Who is not for us is against us' might well have been the cry of the Catholics, for in 1542 they adopted from Spain

the idea of the Inquisition, a tribunal which was now established in Italy to detect heresy and to punish all persons found guilty of it. In this way good Catholics were separated from heretics, and the Church had a far better knowledge of the resources it might call upon in the coming struggle. The Popes, too, became stricter, and paid more attention to the business of the Church. There was no longer room in high office for men like Alexander VI, for now the Papacy became the centre of great reforming activity. In this work the Company of Jesus was a permanent fighting force, 'a sword whose hilt was in Rome and whose point was everywhere', an inexhaustible source of reinforcements whose numberless squadrons could be dispatched to any point on the religious battle-front. When Ignatius died, the company had grown to twenty thousand members, and was equipped with houses, missions, schools, and colleges. Now began the great Catholic attack which we know as the 'Counter-Reformation', and which brought many Protestants back to the Church.

In 1545 the movement culminated in the great council at Trent, the object of which was to find some ground for unity between Rome and the opposing sects. When this was found impossible the Lutherans left the council, and the remainder of the members set themselves to make reforms within the Church which would enable it to combat Protestantism. The various sessions of the council spread over twenty years, and the effects on Church discipline were wide and far-reaching. Doctrines were formulated and a well-defined creed was drawn up. Abuses which had existed for centuries were rooted out and an 'Index' of forbidden books was compiled for circulation among all Catholics.

Thus the Jesuit movement did much to bring new life to the Church and to strengthen it against all assailants. In 1563 the final decisions of the Council of Trent were published. There was to be no compromise in dealing with

Protestants. It was now clear to all that a long period of struggle was ahead, for the Calvinists were determined to maintain their own liberties at whatever cost. The sword had been forged by Luther, it was whetted by Calvin and Loyola, and drawn at the Council of Trent. Before it was sheathed again it claimed victims in thousands from every country in Europe.

CHIEF DATES

- 1509. Birth of Calvin.
- 1521. Siege of Pampeluna.
- 1526. Ignatius Loyola in Paris.
- 1534. Foundation of the Company of Jesus.
- 1536. *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*.
- 1536. Calvin invited to Geneva.
- 1538. Calvin compelled to leave Geneva.
- 1540. The Company of Jesus recognized by the Pope.
- 1541. The return of Calvin to Geneva.
- 1545. First session of the Council of Trent.
- 1556. Death of Ignatius.
- 1563. End of Council of Trent.
- 1564. Death of Calvin.

EXERCISES

1. What were the features of Calvinism which made it such a powerful force for rebellion?
2. Give an account of Calvin's measures in Geneva. Why was he able to enforce them?
3. 'We are the Light Horse of the Church.' What did Ignatius Loyola mean when he said this?
4. What is the meaning of 'Counter-Reformation'? Show in what ways this movement was set afoot.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- Michelet. *Life of Luther.*
Kostlin. *Life of Luther.*
Redburn. *John Calvin : His Life, Letters, and Work.*
Sedgwick. *Loyola : An Attempt at Impartial Biography.*
Batiffol. *The Century of the Renaissance.* (National History of
France.)
Armstrong. *The Emperor Charles V.*

CHAPTER V

CIVIL STRIFE

I

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI

ON the death of Francis I in 1547 his son Henry II came to the throne of France. He was a fine gentleman, tall and handsome like his father, but without the restless ambition that Francis had always had. He had little wish to be always occupied with affairs of state, and had none of his father's consuming lust for power. He was, first and foremost, a sportsman and could not live apart from the chase, the football-field, the lists, and the tennis-court.

In December 1532, when Francis was still trying to conquer Italy, he sought the friendship of Pope Clement VII by betrothing his second son, Henry, to Catherine de' Medici, a girl of his own age and one of the Pope's distant relations. The young couple were married in 1533 in Marseilles, and Francis was assured by Clement that he would receive papal support if he invaded and annexed Genoa, Milan, and Naples. Prince Henry had thus been married, not to royalty or nobility, but to the daughter of a merchant. The French resented the union, and the young princess was heartily disliked, especially when the Pope made no attempt to fulfil his promises. Catherine was called 'the Italian woman', and it was said that she brought from Florence the art of concocting poisons. In 1536 the Dauphin died, and Catherine was suspected of using her evil powers in order to put her husband Henry in his place.

While Henry was king, Catherine had little to do with state affairs, for the king had other advisers, but more than

once when he was away at the wars she took charge of the government. She showed great organizing ability when, after a battle with the Spaniards at St. Quentin in 1557, she went to the Parlement, obtained huge subsidies, and, by her energy and enthusiasm, put new life into France.

Had Henry had a long reign, France might have remained tranquil for some time, but unfortunately he was killed in a tournament which had been arranged to celebrate the coming of peace. Catherine was left with four sons and three daughters. Three of her sons, Francis, Charles, and Henry, were Kings of France during her lifetime, and one daughter married Henry of Navarre, who became king in 1589. For years during a period of civil strife she had to fight against one faction and another for control over her three degenerate sons.

The history of the French Wars of Religion is that of the struggle for religious freedom on the part of a section of the community, complicated by a sordid record of family ambition, in which a weak king was controlled, in turn, by various factions for their own advantage, while close by in the background stood the queen-mother, ever anxious to protect him from them all.

During the reign of Francis I many Protestants, or 'Huguenots,' as they were called, had been persecuted and burnt, because Francis had wanted an alliance with the Pope. When Henry II became king he determined on a vigorous policy of repression, and in 1551 he instituted the 'Chambre Ardente,' or 'Burning Chamber,' a special court for the prosecution of heretics. Yet the number did not decrease. The reformed religion spread into the French court and split the nobility into two sections. First there were the Bourbons, including Antony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, his wife Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Francis I's sister Margaret, and the Prince de Condé, Antony's brother. The second of these Huguenot families



HENRY II



CATHERINE



CHARLES IX



FRANCIS II

THE VALOIS FAMILY

was the Chatillons, Francis d'Andelot and his brother Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France. His title was one of the greatest dignity and was not necessarily conferred for exploits at sea. Coligny was a great soldier and had saved his country at St Quentin in 1557. He and his confederates were therefore of first-rate importance in the state, and in time of persecution they would be formidable enemies to encounter. In 1555 the first reformed church was founded in Paris, and the subsequent Calvinist organizations, stimulated from Geneva, spread rapidly all over France. In spite of all opposition, a great Protestant synod met in Paris in 1559. In 1561 there were over two thousand reformed churches in France.

Henry II was succeeded in 1559 by his eldest son, Francis II, a dull-witted, sickly boy of fifteen. During his very short reign, the jealousy which caused the French Civil Wars openly showed itself for the first time. Francis II was married to Mary Stuart, whose uncle, Duke Francis of Guise, now sought control over the Crown. Catherine hated the Duke of Guise for trying to usurp her authority, the French Protestants hated him because he favoured persecution, and thus feeling rose high on both sides. Catherine had much sympathy with the Huguenots. 'When I see these poor people burnt, beaten, and tormented,' she wrote, 'not for thieving and marauding, but simply for upholding their religious opinions, I am forced to believe that there is something in this which transcends human understanding.' In 1560 Francis died suddenly, and Mary Stuart, whose presence was now required in Scotland, bade a tearful farewell to France. The Guises lost their power for a time, and, with the accession of Charles IX, a boy of nine, Catherine came into her own.

The queen-mother immediately began to work for better relations. The Prince de Condé, who had been imprisoned as the result of a conspiracy, was now released, and the King of Navarre was admitted to the Royal Council. She took

as her counsellor a venerable Protestant, Michel de L'Hôpital, who worked hard for freedom of religion; and she invited both Catholics and Protestants to a colloquy at Poissy. Fine speeches were delivered, but it was impossible to find a basis of agreement. Catherine determined to give the Huguenots freedom of worship, and in 1562 issued the 'Edict of January' to that effect.

This caused consternation everywhere. The Guises objected, and Philip of Spain talked of sending soldiers to France. Religious feeling on both sides rose to a terrifying pitch. Scholars were hustled out of the churches, images were demolished, meeting-houses were burned down, and the preachers had to take to their heels. The actual war began when the retainers of the Duke of Guise attacked and slew many Huguenots who had been worshipping in a barn at Vassy.

The war which followed was the first of a series lasting till 1598. The issue was twofold. The nobles fought for control of the Crown and the Huguenots for freedom of worship. The wars were carried on with every form of barbarity, Condé, Montmorency, and the King of Navarre were killed, and the Duke of Guise was murdered by a fanatic. The Spaniards invaded France on the side of the Catholics, and no quarter was given to Huguenots who were captured. Germans entered France on the east to support the Protestant cause. They pulled down churches, greased their boots with the holy oil and destroyed everything they could find which savoured of Catholicism.

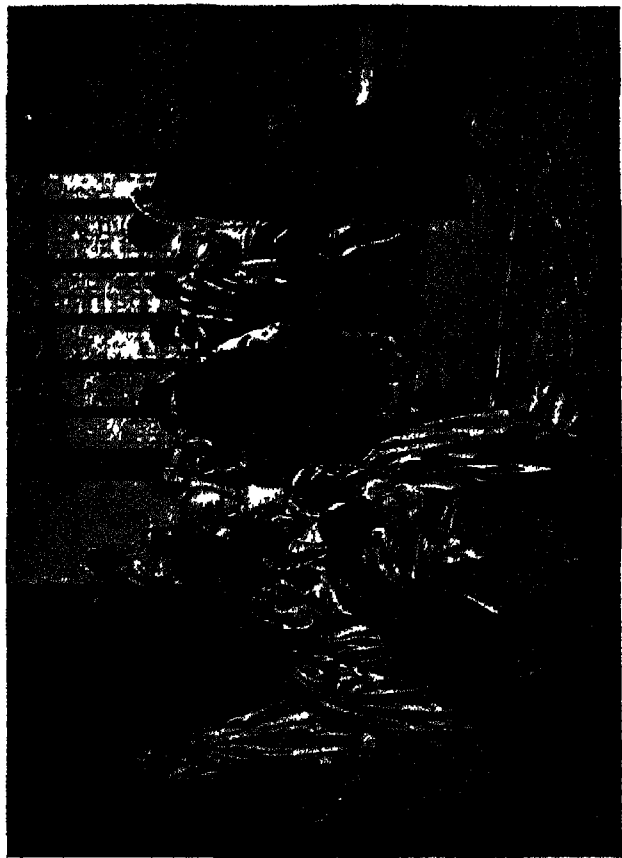
Catherine was unremitting in her efforts to obtain peace. In March 1563 she ended the First Civil War by the Edict of Amboise. Then she assembled a great army and drove the English from Rouen. An attempt by Protestants to kidnap the court in 1567 caused her to harden her heart somewhat against them. L'Hôpital was dismissed, but Catherine still sought peace. In 1570 the Third Civil War was brought to a close by the Peace of St. Germain, which

gave the Huguenots freedom of worship. As a guarantee of good faith they received the four cities of La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité

Catherine was now nearer to real power than she had ever been, and during the short interval of peace she concentrated on securing profitable marriages for her children. Charles was married to Elizabeth of Austria, Margaret of Valois, her daughter, was married to Henry, son of Antony of Bourbon, and now King of Navarre. She had thus brought France and Navarre closer together, and the fact that Henry was leader of the Huguenots was in her opinion a greater pledge of peace. Henry arrived in Paris with five hundred Protestant gentlemen, and on 18th August 1572, this marriage, from which so much was hoped, was solemnized.

Under all the apparent good feeling, however, the fires of hatred still smouldered. Charles was now under the influence of Coligny, and Henry, the son of Francis of Guise, was at the head of the discontented party. On the morning of 22nd August 1572, only four days after the royal wedding, Coligny was walking along a narrow street when a shot rang out. The bullet tore off a finger and ripped open his forearm. His friends rushed to the house from which the shot had been fired and, on entering, found the arquebus still smoking, but nobody there. 'This is how honest men are treated in France,' said Coligny.

The deed shocked all Paris, and struck such terror into Catholics and Huguenots alike that they all immediately armed themselves. The air was thick with rumours of assassination plots. Henry of Guise barricaded himself in his house, the Hôtel de Lorraine. In the meantime a rumour was brought to the court that the Protestants had laid a plot to murder the king, the queen-mother, and the king's brother on the following day. Here even the self-possessed Catherine seems to have lost her composure. A hasty meeting of royal counsellors was held, and it was



THE ENGLISH EMBASSY IN PARIS ON THE DAY OF ST BARTHOLOMEW
(P. H. Calderon, R 4)

suggested that the five or six men at the head of the Protestant movement should be arrested. Arrest, however, was impossible, for they would certainly be defended by their friends. At last assassination was decided on. The chief victim was to be Coligny. Catherine and her counselors proposed this to the king, but he refused to permit it. For two hours they argued with him, coaxed him, and bullied him, but, although attacked on every side, he maintained his standpoint with passion. The whole court was terrified. In the end the king, with a cry of despair and rage, gave his consent.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew began on 24th August 1572. Out of those marked for slaughter only one escaped. The noise of hoofs and the shouts of pursuers roused from its fitful sleep a city that was already terror-stricken. 'Coligny is dead! The Huguenots are being massacred' was the cry. The mob rose in Paris and other French towns, and in all nearly twenty thousand Huguenots perished during the next few days.

Whether Catherine de' Medici was in any way responsible for the event of St. Bartholomew's Day or not, she was now faced with the consequences. To maintain her position would mean a greater struggle than ever, for her name was hated. Charles IX too—the only one who, either out of good sense or cowardice, had not favoured violent measures—now broke down completely. His sleep was troubled by spectres of the massacre. He arose from his bed with perspiration pouring from him, crying in agonized tones about the blood he had caused to be shed. On 31st May 1574 he died, a fugitive from conscience.

Our history of Catherine ends here, for now France had touched the very nadir of her fortunes. The queen-mother still lived to see the unfolding of the tragic tale. We must therefore pass on to the life of the prince who succeeded, to some extent, in quieting the turmoil and checking the overwhelming ambition of the Guises.

CHIEF DATES

- 1533. Marriage of Catherine de' Medici and Henry of France.
- 1547. Accession of Henry II.
- 1560. Accession of Francis II.
- 1560. Accession of Charles IX.
- 1562. Edict of January.
- 1562. Massacre of Vassy.
- 1563. Peace of Amboise.
- 1570. Third Civil War ended by Peace of St. Germain.
- 1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
- 1574. Accession of Henry III.

EXERCISES

1. Why, after the death of Henry II, did civil wars break out in France?
2. What part was played in the wars by (a) Admiral Coligny, (b) the Dukes of Guise?
3. What were Catherine's desires with regard to the Catholics and Protestants? Explain why she failed to realize them.

2

HENRY OF NAVARRE

It is related that one day Catherine de' Medici was in consultation with her astrologer, Ruggieri. 'Tell me, who will be the future Kings of France?' she said. 'Look in the mirror before you, your Majesty,' he replied, 'and you will see.' Catherine gazed into the mirror at the end of the dimly lit room. There, apparently from nowhere, appeared a vision of her eldest son, Francis. He turned completely round once, and then disappeared. Then her second son, Charles, faced her, but before vanishing he turned round thirteen times. When Charles

vanished, her third son appeared and made fifteen turns. Then came one whom she did not know, but who bore a marked likeness to the House of Navarre. Catherine saw him make twenty turns. He was succeeded by a pale boy who turned round thirty times. Would the French crown pass away from her children? Catherine could bear it no longer. 'Stop, stop!' she cried despairingly, and then fell into a faint.

In the year 1574 two of the kings she saw in her vision had passed away, and the third, Henry, had just ascended the throne. Henry was her favourite son. He was intelligent and likeable, but extremely lazy. He disliked all forms of work, exercise, or sport, preferring a life of comfort to the rigours of the hunting-field or camp. People regarded him as effeminate, and this opinion was strengthened by his liking for extravagant dress, jewellery, and exotic perfumes, with which he was continually spraying himself. In 1572 he had been elected King of Poland, but the troublesome nobles there gave him an uncomfortable time. When he heard of the death of his brother Charles, he fled from the country by night and made his way to France by way of Venice. When he ascended the throne, he celebrated the occasion by deeds of goodwill towards the Huguenots, and people hoped for a reign of great promise.

In the meantime, another Henry had arisen to champion the Protestant cause. He was the King of Navarre, son of Antony of Bourbon. He was born in 1555, educated in the Calvinist faith, and experienced the strict discipline which the Calvinist child of those days had to undergo. His outdoor life among the hardy mountaineers of Navarre had given him a love of the open air and of manly sport. On 18th August 1572, a few days before the great massacre, he was married to Marguerite de Valois, the plump and good-natured daughter of Catherine. In the wars following the death of Charles IX, Henry was still on the side of the Protestants. He was a good leader and an excellent



HENRY III
THE THIRD HENRY



HENRY OF GUISE



HENRY OF NAVARRE

organizer. He read no books, he even dictated his letters while walking to and fro in his garden, or while riding his horse. He was passionately fond of outdoor life, and loved adventure for its own sake. His face was open, his eyes bright and dark, and his forehead broad. His long and beak-like nose resembled that of Francis I, and caused the Catholic gentlemen in the French court to refer to him as 'the young king whose nose is greater than his kingdom.'

There is yet a third Henry to complete the cast before the strange play can be begun. Henry of Guise was the son of the great Duke Francis who had been assassinated. He was called 'le Balafre', or 'the man with the scar', because of a large red mark which had been made across his face by a bullet. Henry was an ambitious man and he made himself hated through his proud and haughty bearing. He was now champion of the Catholic cause, and this, combined with his personal ambition, led him to desire control over the French Throne. The low state of the French finances and the extravagance of Henry III gave Guise the opportunity to establish his own power over the Crown. He founded the Catholic League, with branches in every French city and money largely drawn from Spain. Its objects were to secure order and good government, but it finally brought about war and devastation.

In 1584 Catherine's youngest son, Francis of Anjou, died, and the next heir to the French throne was Henry of Navarre, descendant of the sixth son of St. Louis, and a very distant cousin of the king. The Guises determined that he should not succeed, and other possible candidates were considered. But Henry was determined to fight for his rights and thus the famous war of the three Henrys began.

Henry of Navarre was confronted by a strong combination of well-armed forces, while his own men were badly armed, fed, and clothed. Yet, contrary to the expectations of all, he repulsed a strong force of Catholics at the battle

of Cloutras (1587). Guise, in the meantime, marched off to fight the Germans, who, in support of the Huguenots, had sent thirty-five thousand men to France. By a series of clever manoeuvres he compelled them to sue for peace and made them go back to Germany.

The Duke of Guise had thus saved his country, and as a result he achieved immense popularity. His arrogance now knew no bounds. Henry III, knowing that the duke was idolized in Paris, forbade him to enter, but Guise took no notice. The streets of Paris were lined by a mad cheering crowd as the handsome, scarred warrior rode proudly through. 'He shall die for it,' Henry swore, but he had no power to check him. At last Henry, realizing his utter powerlessness, fled from the city by night to escape being made a prisoner by his own subjects.

A desperate man will do anything, and Henry was desperate. The murder of Henry of Guise was deliberately planned. A council was to meet and the king was to call the duke from the chamber for a personal interview. The friends of Guise warned him against possible treachery. 'Bah,' he said, 'he may desire to do so, but he will not have the courage.' As he was passing through the door to the king's room the guards fell on him and stabbed him to death. The king was in an inner room, paralysed with fear. As soon as the deed was done, his terrified face appeared through the curtains. He ran quickly downstairs to his dying mother, Catherine, who had heard the cries and struggles. 'What have you done?' she cried, wringing her hands. Henry told her. 'Now I alone am king,' he said. 'My son,' answered Catherine, 'I wish you well of it.' The queen knew too well that such a terrible deed was only the prelude to Henry's fall.

The news of the murder caused a strong wave of feeling against the king, and Henry, in despair, at last joined forces with Henry of Navarre, and their victories gave the king fresh hope of recovering his power. But it was not to be.

One morning a messenger in monkish garb came to the king's abode with a letter. The dress of his Order gave him access to the royal person. A spring and a dagger-thrust, and the last of the sons of Catherine de' Medici perished (1589).

Henry of Navarre was now, without doubt, the foremost man in the kingdom, and the rightful heir to the throne. Popular prejudice was against him, and he was faced by a powerful Catholic army. The League proclaimed another king, and Henry realized that his throne must be gained by conquest. He kept his army near Paris, and in March 1590 the Catholic forces came out to meet him. When the two armies were drawn up on the plain of Ivry, he issued the command to attack. He decked himself with a large white feather. 'Follow it,' he cried, 'for it will lead you to honour and victory.' His men were spurred on by his example. The cavalry charged through the Catholic lines and Henry fought like a common soldier in the ranks. 'Long live the king!' was the cry all through the Huguenot lines. The enemy fled from the field, and Henry again besieged Paris, only to withdraw again before the Duke of Parma, who brought help from the Netherlands.

The conquest of France was proving troublesome. In 1591 and 1592 Henry travelled round and about Paris, urging on his men, winning victories here and victories there, but ever failing to attain the desired objective. For three years now he had tried to win France as a Protestant, and had failed. He now came to the conclusion that he might, by turning Catholic, be able both to gain the throne and bring peace and contentment to his supporters. In 1593 he therefore made a public recantation of his Calvinist doctrines.

There was now no objection to his being king. On 27th February 1594 he was crowned at Chartres, and at four in the morning of 22nd March the royal forces streamed into Paris. When daylight appeared, the king arrived, clad

in helmet and breastplate, and crowds lined the streets to see the man whom they had kept at bay so long. Before the day was over, the cry 'Long live the King!' was ringing through all Paris.

Henry now applied himself with energy to the settlement of the newly acquired kingdom. To end the religious strife, he published the famous Edict of Nantes in 1598. He gave the Huguenots full freedom of worship, the right to hold all public offices, and for eight years they were to be allowed to garrison a number of towns as securities. Henry even promised to pay the salaries of Protestant ministers and gave money to colleges. Thus after fifty years of continued struggle the Huguenots received their rights.

Henry applied himself with equal vigour to strengthening and improving his country. 'I would like every French peasant always to have a chicken to put into his cooking-pot,' he said. It was a difficult task to restore prosperity where for so long there had been distress and starvation, but Henry was assisted by a Minister of great resource. Monsieur de Rosny, Duke of Sully, was a Huguenot noble who throughout the war had fought by Henry's side. Never were two men so well fitted to govern a country than Henry and he, for each supplied elements that were lacking in the other. Henry was liberal and genial, sometimes rather lazy, but Sully was economical, attentive to details, with a prodigious memory, a passion for work, and a devotion to his king which has rarely been equalled in any Minister.

Between them Henry and Sully did great things for France. The whole financial system was reorganized, and unjust agents were dismissed. Before 1596 Sully could boast that he had made the government richer by half a million crowns. In the realms of agriculture and trade, Henry and Sully were no less successful. Roads were made, marshes drained, woods replanted, and the country was cleared of brigands. The main roads were lined with long

avenues of trees to make them picturesque, and canals were planned to join the chief rivers of France together. Whereas Sully concentrated on home affairs, Henry tried to develop the foreign trade of France. He made commercial treaties with England and Spain, and brought about good relations with the Turks, which resulted in the prosperity of Marseilles and the accumulation of millions of crowns in profit. Much money was spent on the improvement of Paris. Streets were widened, quays were built on the river side, and new buildings were erected. Henry also attempted to found a colony in America round the new town of Quebec, and encouraged explorers for the sake of the fur-trade. Thus France took her first step in building an overseas empire.

During the civil wars, the weakness of royal authority had given rise to much lawlessness on the part of the nobles. Duels were very frequent, and France thus lost thousands of talented young men. Henry did not entirely succeed in putting a stop to this practice, but he found a partial remedy in making the nobles serve at the head of their men in the French army. His last years were clouded by sadness. In 1600, having divorced Marguerite de Valois, he married his second wife, Marie de' Medici. She was small-minded and greedy, and in no way a fit companion for him. In 1609 he determined to embark on a war in Germany to seize two provinces which the Emperor had claimed, but he did not live long enough to take up the campaign.

On 14th May 1610 he was driving unattended through Paris to visit Sully, when his coach was held up by traffic. At that moment a fanatic, named Ravaillac, sprang up on the wheel and stabbed the king twice as he was reading a letter. Thus the last of the three Henrys died, like the other two, by the dagger of the assassin. He had done great work for France; and the whole country, Huguenot and Catholic alike, was plunged into mourning for the man who, twenty years before, had been so profoundly hated. He had united

and strengthened the country, and had taken the first step in bringing about its future greatness.

CHIEF DATES

- 1584. Death of the Duke of Anjou. Henry of Navarre heir to French throne.
- 1587. Henry of Navarre victorious at Coutras.
- 1588. Guise master of Paris.
- 1588. Murder of Guise.
- 1589. Death of Catherine de' Medici.
- 1589. Assassination of Henry III.
- 1590. Battle of Ivry.
- 1593. Henry of Navarre becomes a Catholic.
- 1594. Entry of Henry of Navarre into Paris.
- 1598. Edict of Nantes.
- 1610. Assassination of Henry IV.

EXERCISES

1. Outline the characters of the three Henrys. Why was King Henry III compelled to join Henry of Navarre?
2. Why had Henry of Navarre so much difficulty in persuading the French to accept him as king? What other obstacles had he to overcome, and how did he succeed?
3. How did Henry and Sully help to restore prosperity to France after the wars?

8

WILLIAM THE SILENT

ON 25th October 1555 Charles V, King of Spain and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire stood before a vast concourse of people in the great hall of the Palace at Brussels, and solemnly recited his abdication of the government of the Netherlands in favour of his son Philip. While

he was speaking he leaned on the shoulder of his ward, William of Orange, a young prince of the Empire.

The Netherlands were among the richest lands in Europe, and their goods found markets in all parts of the world. So rich were the merchants there, that it was said that every lady was as richly dressed as a queen. Under Charles they had enjoyed prosperity and sound government. Charles, who was born in Ghent, knew and loved the great men of sixteenth-century Holland, who now saw, with regret, their old master laying down his powers.

Young Philip, to whom the government of the Netherlands was given, was a poor reflection of his father. He was short, thin, and pallid, and cut a sorry figure in the extravagant dress of his day. His face was like that of his father, with the same protruding Habsburg jaw. William Prince of Orange, Charles's ward, was the son of a Lutheran nobleman of Nassau who, at the age of twelve, had turned Catholic, as a condition of obtaining a princely dignity. He was, even more than the King of Navarre, a prince without lands. He was a young man of great resource and intelligence, and, even at the early age of twenty-two, a distinguished soldier. One of the earliest portraits we have of him shows him, at the age of twenty-four, in a full set of armour, with a marshal's baton, his hand resting on his plumed iron casque. His forehead is high, his eyes are dark, his face set and determined. Yet he looks little more than a boy, with a faint beard just beginning to show itself.

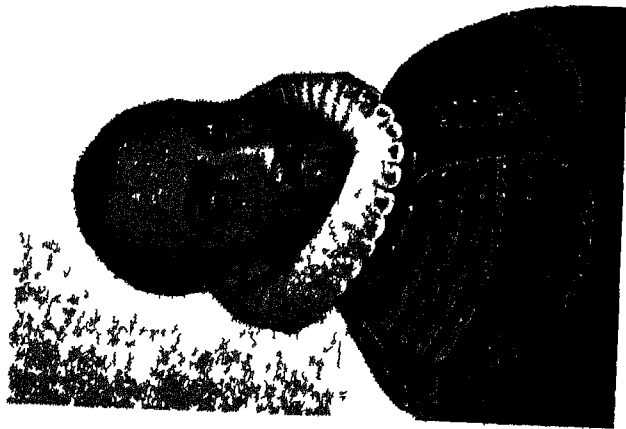
The revolt of the Netherlands against Spanish dominion may be traced to two prime causes: firstly, the accession of Philip; and, secondly, the rapid spread of Calvinism in the Low Countries. Charles had had no liking for the doctrines of Calvin, but he had been too busy with the results of Luther's revolt to take up another war, although there had been persecutions of Protestants in the Netherlands during his reign. Philip II, however, was a Spaniard at heart,

and the Dutch found him a hard and unsympathetic master. He was narrow-minded, arrogant, and obstinate, caring nothing for opposition and refusing to listen either to pleading or to advice. He determined to reorganize the Catholic Church in the Netherlands, and to use the Inquisition to reconvert the people.

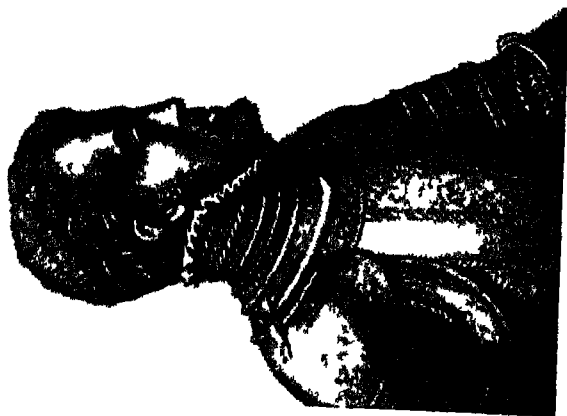
Rumours regarding the future reached the ears of William of Orange when, in 1559, he was in Paris as a hostage for the performance of the terms of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. One summer day he was out hunting with King Henry II when Henry began to reveal the secret plans of Philip. 'In order not to fall into contempt with the king as if secrets were kept from me, I answered so that the king was not undeceived.' William tells us that there and then he made a vow to help the Dutch to resist. 'I was overwhelmed with pity and sympathy for so many worthy people dedicated to ruin, and for this land to which I owed so much. I confess that from that moment I determined to aid in clearing these Spanish vermin out of the land, and I have never repented my resolution.' The presence of mind that he showed in not revealing his ignorance to Henry II at that fateful moment in the forest of Vincennes has earned for him the title of 'the Silent', or 'le Taciturne'.

The year 1559 begins the gloomy story of the repression of the Netherlands. Philip II sent his sister Margaret of Parma, as governor, advised by three Ministers: Cardinal Granvella, Viglius, a lawyer, and Berlaymont, a Spanish noble. In March of that year, Philip had authority from the Pope to divide the Netherlands into seventeen bishoprics in place of the four that already existed. This was a good thing for Philip, for he could now carry on the Inquisition more efficiently and use the new districts for purposes of taxation.

In 1560 William was away in Germany seeking the support of the Protestant princes. During this time he had



WILLIAM THE SILENT



PHILIP II

conceived the idea of making a marriage alliance with Anne of Saxony, daughter of Duke Maurice who, only a few years previously, had caused the downfall of Charles. Philip could not understand this. 'I do not know how the prince can marry the daughter of a man who behaved towards his sainted Majesty as Duke Maurice did,' he wrote.

When William returned to the Netherlands he found all the trouble about the bishoprics at its height. He therefore asked to be dismissed from the Council of State. At last Margaret of Parma realized that she must to some extent give way. On her advice, Philip recalled Granvella, and the people of the Netherlands heaved a sigh of relief. 'God grant that he go so far that he will never come back,' wrote William.

Margaret of Parma had shown mercy and consideration, but Philip, in spite of her appeals, did not moderate his harshness. In 1563 the final decisions of the Council of Trent were published and Philip determined to put them into operation. He recalled his sister from the governorship and sent his most trusted general and counsellor, the Duke of Alva. Here was a man without tact or mercy, a soldier with a love of war and a profound distrust of all half-measures. He had been in Tunis with Charles in 1535 and had shown his worth as a general at Muhlberg. Under his rule the number of executions mounted week by week. The country-side was terrorized by bands of highway robbers who called themselves the 'Wild Beggars'. Antwerp revolted, and a fury of image-breaking occurred which even William found it impossible to check. Such was the state of affairs when Alva and his hosts came to restore Catholicism and peace.

Alva arrived while William was in Germany seeking Protestant support. He formed a council, called the Council of Troubles, before which was brought any person suspected of heresy or of resistance to the decrees of the Council of Trent. So many were sent to be executed that

it became known as the 'Council of Blood'. Among its victims were Count Egmont and Admiral Horn, two prominent nobles who were both friends of William. Their deaths spurred him to desperate action. He became the protector of the Wild Beggars, who had now taken to the sea, and were harassing the Spanish ships and sheltering in England, under the protection of Queen Elizabeth. In 1568 he had collected an army in Germany and, having pronounced his adhesion to the Calvinistic faith, he set off for the Netherlands.

Before Alva left Spain he had begged Philip not to trouble himself about money, for, he said, the Netherlands were so rich that they could easily be made to pay the expenses incidental to their own subjugation. Previous to this time, every state had the right of taxing itself, but in 1569 Alva withdrew this right, and on them all imposed three taxes: the 'Hundredth Penny', or a tax of one per cent on all property, the 'Twentieth Penny', or five per cent on all sales of land and houses, and the 'Tenth Penny', or ten per cent on all sales of other articles.

The result was wholesale revolt. William was offered the post of Stadhouder, or President, of three of the largest provinces: Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht. The Spaniards laid siege to Zutphen, Haarlem, and Naarden, while the people of Alkmaar only drove them away by opening the dikes and flooding the country-side. This confusion proved the failure of Alva's policy. His methods had shocked even his colleagues, his taxation edicts had roused the whole country, his private affairs were in confusion, and he was hopelessly in debt. He now left the country by stealth and journeyed to Spain through France, boasting that eighteen thousand six hundred people had been executed during his regency.

He was succeeded by Don Luis de Requesens, a moderate man of some ability, who arrived in Brussels at the end of 1573. Both Dutch and Spaniards longed for peace, but

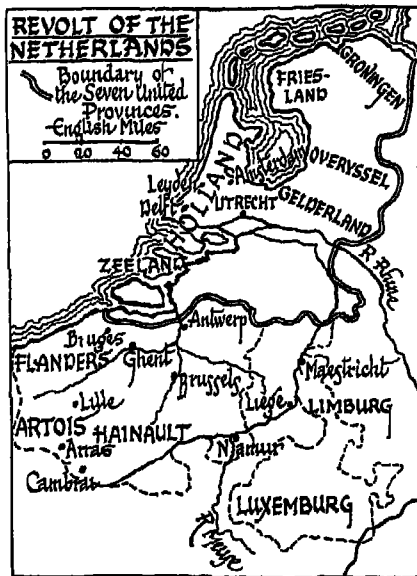
Philip was inflexible, vowing that he would use all the treasures of the Indies to achieve his end. In 1574 William's brother, Louis, arrived with a force of Germans. A battle ensued at Mooker Heath, in which Louis was killed. In October of the same year the Spaniards laid siege to Leyden, one of the most important Dutch towns. The story of the city's defence is an epic of heroism. Supplies ran out and the inhabitants were starving. In their efforts at relief the Dutch had broken down the dikes and allowed the sea to flood the meadows; a naval battle was fought among the slime of the flooded land, and at last a fresh wind deepened the waters and carried the relieving ships up to the city. The starving people rejoiced when they saw them, and on the following day William was there, reconditioning the city and provisioning it for two years. As a memorial of the relief, the people of Leyden founded their university, now one of the most famous in Europe.

In 1576 Requesens died and the Spanish troops mutinied. They attacked Antwerp, and, when they had defeated the garrison and entered the city, they wrought such destruction for three days that this event has since been known as the 'Spanish Fury'. In the meantime the representatives of the state had signed a declaration of friendship and unity known as the 'Pacification of Ghent', in which they made agreements on all subjects over which they had quarrelled, and determined to devote all their energies to the expulsion of the foreigner.

The third governor whom Philip sent was Don John of Austria, a gallant young man with great ambitions. A glorious future had been predicted for him. He came to the Netherlands fresh from a victory over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto in 1571, and his hopes of success were high, for he proposed to win over the Dutch with promises of good government. In reply to the Pacification of Ghent he issued the 'Perpetual Edict', abolishing the Council of Troubles. But Philip, seeing that Don John was not

carrying out his wishes, refused to send him supplies, and dispatched to the Netherlands another governor, the Duke of Parma.

Don John of Austria ended his brilliant career miserably. He and the Duke of Parma defeated the Dutch at the battle of Gembloux, but, without supplies from Philip, they were



powerless to follow it up. In 1578 Don John was but the shadow of the fine young man who two years before had set out from Spain with such high prospects. He was attacked by fever and taken to the hills above Namur to recuperate. On 20th September he sent his last letter to Philip asking for supplies, but before it reached Spain he was dead.

The task of the Duke of Parma was much easier, for Don John's work had had some success. In 1579 the provinces

had split into two sections. the Union of Utrecht, which was mainly Protestant, and later became Holland; and the Union of Arras, which yielded to Spain, and became known as the Spanish Netherlands and, later, Belgium. William was now driven to rely only on the northern provinces, and his position was made doubly serious when, in the same year, the Duke of Parma outlawed him, declaring that any man who slew him would receive a reward of twenty thousand crowns. William worked in desperation to consolidate the position of his seven northern provinces. In 1581 he succeeded in obtaining the help of France. Henry III, anxious to get rid of his younger brother Francis, saw that William's offer of a protectorship over the northern provinces would remove a troublesome problem, and therefore Francis, Duke of Anjou, was sent with a French army. Outside Antwerp, William invested Francis with Philip's dignities, and placed the ducal cloak on his shoulders.

All did not go well with the Duke of Anjou, for he saw that he was but a tool in the hands of William. One night, therefore, he called round him all his leaders and confided to them his plans to plunder a number of Dutch towns. At noon on 17th January 1583 he rode up to the troops, waving his hand to them and pointing towards Antwerp. 'There is your city,' he cried; 'go and take it.' Thus the 'French Fury' began. The soldiers attacked with cries of 'Kill, kill! Long live the Duke of Anjou.' But their strength was not equal to the task. The citizens used every available weapon. They fired from their windows and threw tiles from the roofs. The French therefore retired, having accomplished nothing, and Anjou returned to France, where he died shortly afterwards.

In the meantime the Spanish ban had already produced its effect. In 1581 William had barely escaped with his life after an attempt in which the assassin's bullet had pierced his face, entering one cheek and passing out at the other. At last, on 10th July 1584, as William was coming

downstairs in his house at Delft to take midday dinner, a fanatic named Gerard discharged a pistol at him point-blank.

The death of William of Orange occurred after twenty years of terrible strife and hardship endured by the people of the Netherlands, but during his life he had succeeded in making the ultimate independence of the northern states a certainty. Queen Elizabeth assisted them by sending soldiers and Henry of Navarre drew the Duke of Parma away to the French wars. William was succeeded by his son Maurice, who, though not the statesman his father had been, was a brilliant general and held his own successfully.

In 1598 Philip II died, having impoverished Spain by his fruitless wars against England, France, and the Netherlands. Desultory fighting continued till 1609, when Philip III concluded a truce of twelve years, and recognized Dutch independence. This independence was maintained until 1648, when at the Treaty of Westphalia it was recognized by all Europe. By this time the Dutch had become prosperous and were among the greatest of the trading nations of Europe.

CHIEF DATES

- 1556. Accession of Philip to throne of Spain.
- 1559. William a hostage in France.
- 1564. Recall of Cardinal Granvella from the Netherlands.
- 1567. Duke of Alva governor of the Netherlands.
- 1569. Alva's taxation edicts.
- 1573. Recall of Alva.
- 1574. Siege of Leyden.
- 1576. Pacification of Ghent.
- 1576. Don John of Austria governor of the Netherlands.
- 1578. Death of Don John.
- 1579. Union of Arras formed.
- 1579. Union of Utrecht formed.
- 1581. Duke of Anjou in the Netherlands.
- 1584. Assassination of William.
- 1609. Twelve years' truce.

EXERCISES

1. Why did the Netherlanders revolt under Philip II when they had been peaceful under Charles V?
2. 'William the Silent.' Account for this name and say what you can of the character of William.
3. Give an account of the rule of the Duke of Alva.
4. What efforts did William make to bring about a united opposition to Spain, and how far did he succeed?

4

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

IN 1485 Henry Tudor came to England to fight for the crown. His victory and the death of Richard III at Bosworth Field ended the famous Wars of the Roses. When he died in 1509 he left his country peaceful and prosperous. His son Henry VIII was eighteen when he ascended the throne. He was a handsome youth of great promise, whose physical attributes were equalled by his mental powers. Besides being a fine sportsman, he was an accomplished scholar, and was fond of literature and music. But the king's many accomplishments and his delight in learning were overshadowed by his selfishness and his desire for glory. In 1520 the famous war between Charles and Francis was on the point of breaking out. Henry joined the side of Spain, partly in the hope of winning French lands for England. But in 1525 England had gained nothing, and Henry had the bitterness of seeing Charles humble his rival at Pavia while he, the King of England, was neglected.

During this period, Henry's chief counsellor was Cardinal Wolsey, a man who had risen, by his own brilliance, from a very humble position to that of Chancellor of England, and who had guided the country through the difficult period up to 1520. Henry and Wolsey, however, differed

somewhat in views. Wolsey favoured France, and, now that Charles was victorious, he sought to break the Anglo-Spanish connection.

His chance came in 1527. Henry, who was childless, and had long wanted a son to succeed him, now began to feel that God had cursed him because Catherine of Aragon, whom he had married, was the widow of his elder brother Arthur. He therefore determined to seek a divorce. Wolsey was glad, hoping that Henry would now be free to marry a French princess, but the king had already decided. He was in love with Anne Boleyn, a lady of the court, and Wolsey had the discomfiture of seeing all his plans of a French alliance shattered.

Difficulty after difficulty arose. The Pope, anxious as he may have been to please Henry, could not grant the divorce because he was in the hands of Charles, who was Catherine's nephew. Henry demanded it, and the matter was argued out in England by Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio, the Pope's emissary. Months passed and nothing happened. Henry became impatient. At last he banished Wolsey from the court and stripped him of all his honours. In 1530 he was arrested on a charge of high treason. While on the way to London to be tried he was attacked by dysentery at Leicester Abbey, and there he died.

In his desire to free himself from Catherine, Henry eagerly accepted the proposal of Thomas Cranmer that the universities of Europe should be asked for their opinions. But, in spite of huge bribes, the verdict went against Henry, and he had to resort to another method. At last he found a man who was both willing and able to help him. Thomas Cromwell was an adventurer who, when young, had served in Italy. On his return to England he became the faithful servant of Wolsey and was thus brought to the king's notice. He thus advised Henry to authorize his own divorce. Henry listened, and when all other schemes had failed he acted.



WOLLEY ENTERING LEICESTER ABBEY
(C. W. Cope)

Thus the Church of England was split off from Rome. In 1531 Henry extorted a great sum of money from the clergy, and compelled them to accept him as 'Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church in England'. In 1533 the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, declared Henry's marriage with Catherine invalid, and Henry married Anne Boleyn.

The English Reformation was brought about in a strange way. Henry had broken away from Rome because the religious subjection of England had hindered him from carrying out his wishes, though in matters of faith he was still a Catholic. After 1532 the English Reformation proceeded apace. In 1534 the Act of Supremacy gave the king supreme power over the Church, its officers, its courts, and its convocations. In 1535, preachers were allowed to preach only by royal licence, and every breath of opposition to the policy of the Crown was stifled. In 1536 a commission was sent out to visit the monasteries of England and to report on their condition. The result was the compilation of the 'Black Book', which stated that the greater number of these monasteries deserved to be abolished. In 1536 the smaller houses were suppressed, and three years later a second Act of Parliament was passed putting an end to the rest. The monastic lands thus passed to the king, who made large grants from them to his favourites.

Thomas Cromwell, Henry's vicar-general, is the English example of the Renaissance in politics, and he brought to England methods worthy of Machiavelli's 'Prince'. He proceeded craftily and mercilessly, sweeping away every obstacle. He organized an army of spies who sent him reports of activities all over the country, and all who questioned royal authority were made to suffer. Thomas More, who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, was torn from his family and sent to the block. In 1536 a young Yorkshire lawyer, Robert Aske, led an army of nobles and people in a revolt known as the 'Pilgrimage of Grace'.

Cromwell recommended the Duke of Norfolk to negotiate with them, and they were promised pardon and a parliament at York. But, once the rebellion was over, Cromwell did not keep his word, and the gallows claimed fresh victims among the people, nobles, and clergy.

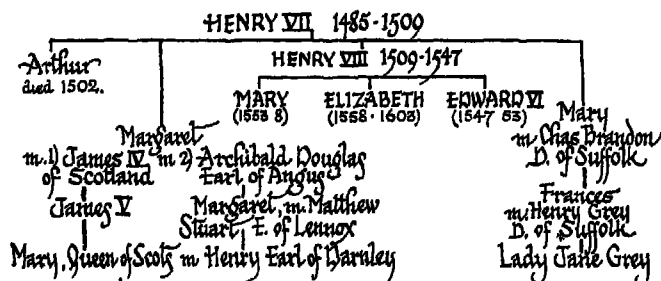
In 1536 the doctrines of the Church were defined by the issue of the Ten Articles, some of the old Church feasts were done away with, and many images were taken down. Cromwell, who was a Protestant at heart, wished Henry to join Francis in a great campaign to humble the Emperor and to make the north of Europe safe for the new religion. When Jane Seymour, Henry's third wife, died, Cromwell proposed that the king should marry Anne of Cleves, the sister-in-law of the Elector of Saxony. This would place him in the forefront of the Protestant movement. But Henry found, too late, that neither the German princes nor Francis were anxious as yet to continue the war against Charles. Cromwell fell out of favour, his enemies proceeded against him, and the king did nothing to prevent his execution.

From 1530 onwards, English Protestants had grown rapidly in numbers, and the admission of Protestant doctrine into the Church had caused a great deal of trouble. In many places open sacrilege had been committed, crucifixes had been torn down in the churches, images publicly burnt, and solemn ceremonies held up to ridicule. Henry saw that further troubles were sure to arise if he continued to allow such things to happen. In 1539, therefore, Parliament passed the Act of the Six Articles which instituted the Confession and forbade priests to marry. After the fall of Cromwell, however, the Protestants gained in power again, and when Henry died in 1547 their cause triumphed for awhile.

The king's will had placed the regency in the hands of a council, which appointed the Duke of Somerset to rule the kingdom until Edward VI, a boy of ten, came of age.

Under Somerset, Protestantism was introduced in full force. The Six Articles were repealed, and a new Prayer-book was introduced. These measures again kindled the fires of rebellion in England, and Somerset's arrogance aroused jealousy among the nobles. In 1549 he resigned his office of Protector, and his place was taken by the Duke of Northumberland. In 1552 the latter had Somerset executed, but his own position even now was not secure, for the young king's health was rapidly failing, and the next heir was Edward's elder sister Mary, who was a Catholic.

THE TUDORS



Northumberland now resolved on a bold step. He persuaded Edward to leave the throne of England to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, and to pass over Mary and her sister Elizabeth. Lady Jane, had married Northumberland's son and, if she could be crowned Queen of England, Northumberland's position would be secure. When Edward died in 1553, Jane was proclaimed queen, but Mary gathered forces and marched on London. The whole country supported Mary, and Northumberland was brought to trial and executed.

Again, in 1553, England experienced a sudden reversal in religious policy. Mary, the daughter of Catherine of

Aragon, wished for nothing less than the restoration of papal authority in England. She brought back the old services, expelled the Protestant bishops, and in 1554 married Philip of Spain, the son of Charles V.

The way was now clear for the reintroduction of Catholicism. A cardinal was invited from Rome, laws against heretics were revived, and a general persecution began. Between 1555 and 1558 three hundred people were burnt at the stake, among them Bishops Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and Ferrar, the greatest Protestants in the land. The common people, too, suffered. In one day alone, thirteen victims, two of them women, were burnt together in a great fire at Stratford-at-Bow. Even Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was condemned to death. When he was told that his life would be spared if he turned Catholic, he recanted, but later, overcome by remorse at his own cowardice, he chose to follow his fellow bishops to the stake. When he was burnt, in 1556, he placed in the fire his right hand, which had signed the recantation, that it might be burnt first. Cardinal Pole was given Cranmer's place as Archbishop of Canterbury, and the persecution went on.

The marriage of Mary, however, was not a happy one. Philip soon saw that Parliament was not going to allow England to be dragged into Spanish wars. After only a year in England, Philip left the country and Mary struggled on alone. When Charles V abdicated in 1556, Philip became King of Spain. At that time the war with France was still continuing, and Philip came to England in 1557 to urge Mary to join him. English troops went to France to fight on the Spanish side and the result of the war was the French capture of Calais, the only English possession across the Channel. In that year Mary died, broken-hearted at the failure of her schemes. By her death a general revolt was averted and England rejoiced at the accession of her younger sister.

Elizabeth was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and was

twenty-five years of age when she became queen. At the beginning of Mary's reign her life had been in danger and she had been forced to live in retirement at Hatfield. Here she had carried on her studies for five years. Like her father she was fond of reading and could talk at length on learned subjects when the occasion demanded it. She spoke Italian and French fluently, and was interested in music and the drama. She was, too, an accomplished sportswoman and could ride and shoot well, but her best qualities only showed themselves after her accession to the throne. She had all the determination of her father, and the same unfaltering instinct for choosing men who would best serve her ends. 'This is the Lord's doing,' she cried when the news of Mary's death reached her. England, troubled for twenty years by internal struggles, was now to be guided to prosperity by the iron hand of a benevolent monarch.

Elizabeth determined to steer a middle course in religious affairs. Many of Mary's bishops were imprisoned, and the queen became the supreme head of the Church. In 1559 an Act of Uniformity was passed, which ordained that everybody must attend the services of the Church of England. Many extreme Protestants, or Puritans, as they were called, took to worshipping in private, but Elizabeth created a Court of High Commission to punish them with fines and imprisonment. The Catholics were treated with no more consideration. They were regarded as traitors because they set up the authority of the Pope as greater than that of the Queen of England, and to deal with them Elizabeth revived the Court of Star Chamber.

Though Elizabeth wanted peace, there were many dangers yet to face. Philip of Spain sought her hand, but she rejected his suit and so offended the Catholics of Europe. When Francis II of France died, his wife Mary Stuart came to Scotland. Here, it seemed, was the greatest danger of all. Mary was a Catholic, and was, on account of her

descent from Henry VIII's sister Margaret, the rival of Elizabeth for the throne of England. Mary was a woman of great beauty and personal charm, and when she landed in Scotland the whole country fell before her spell, and had to admit that there was something captivating about the young Catholic queen. Had she acted wisely, she might have dethroned Elizabeth, but she soon involved herself in troubles which divided her realm and destroyed her own power. To make her claim on the English throne stronger, she married Henry, Lord Darnley, a boy of eighteen, also a Catholic. The marriage was a challenge to Protestantism. In 1566 Mary had a son, who it was hoped would continue the work of restoring Catholicism and become king of a converted England. Elizabeth's star seemed to be on the wane.

Yet, in the face of all this good fortune, Mary's cause collapsed through her own foolishness. Lord Darnley proved an arrogant and worthless husband, and was angry because Mary would not allow him the power of a king. His jealousy spurred him on to the murder of David Rizzio, the queen's Catholic adviser. Mary now hated her husband and, while pretending to show affection for him, lured him on to his death. In 1566 Darnley was ill, and the queen one day visited him in Edinburgh. She left him in a lonely house with only a page to attend to him. Two hours after midnight the town was startled by a terrific explosion. The house in which Darnley was lodging had been destroyed and his dead body was found beside the ruins.

This crime, and the events which followed, turned all Scotland against Mary. A few weeks after the murder, she married the Earl of Bothwell. The people believed that Mary and Bothwell had been accomplices in Darnley's murder, and the whole country rose in revolt. Mary was defeated and imprisoned in Lochleven Castle. She escaped, gathered together another army, but was defeated a second

time at Langside in 1568, and fled to England to avoid being captured by her own rebellious nobles.

Mary wrote from Carlisle asking Elizabeth to help her to recover her crown. Elizabeth immediately realized that Protestantism in England was now safe, and refused to do this, or even to allow Mary to go to France. She kept her prisoner, refusing to see her, yet not daring to permit her to leave England. The national danger was now over, but it was succeeded by a personal danger to Elizabeth, for, during Mary's captivity, plot after plot was hatched to kill the queen and to put Mary on the English throne. In 1586 it was proved that Mary had been concerned in one of these, when Anthony Babington, a young Catholic, obtained her consent and help. The conspiracy was discovered by Sir Francis Walsingham, who used it as a means of bringing about Mary's death. The letters she had written were seized, and she was put under close confinement at Fotheringay Castle. A special commission found her guilty of plotting against the queen's life. Elizabeth would not at first consent to her execution. In the end, however, she was persuaded by her Ministers that, as long as Mary lived, her own life would not be safe, and the execution took place at Fotheringay in February 1587.

The death of Mary brought to England consequences which might well have been disastrous. Philip II of Spain determined to make an effort to conquer the country, and in 1588 sent the Armada which was dispersed and partially destroyed by the bold English seamen. Its destruction at last brought to England the consciousness of her own strength. Elizabeth pursued the war with Spain both in the Netherlands and on the high seas. When Philip died in 1598 the great power he had inherited had been broken down by the valour of the English and the Dutch.

The Tudor period in England ended in a blaze of glory. Elizabeth's prompt measures had put an end to serious religious discord, had remedied many social evils left by

Edward and Mary, and had placed England on the pinnacle of power. A great wave of patriotism swept the country. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher established English reputation on the sea by their voyages of discovery. The age was also marked by the rise of great literary figures to an extent unparalleled in England before. We know the names of Shakespeare, Jonson, Spenser, and Francis Bacon, but the fame of these overshadows many others, like Marlowe and Drayton, who were really great in their time, and have left behind important literary work.

On 27th March 1603 a dishevelled rider, Sir Robert Carey, reached Edinburgh and bowed the knee to James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, was dead. James accepted the kingship and journeyed to London in great pomp. There was general rejoicing. The jails were thrown open and all prisoners, except those who had committed murder, were set free. During that journey two hundred and thirty-seven gentlemen were knighted. A new era had begun, an era in which the weakness and ignorance of the new line of kings was to plunge England into further religious and civil discord.

CHIEF DATES

- 1530. Fall and death of Wolsey.
- 1533. Marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.
- 1534. Act of Supremacy.
- 1536. Dissolution of the smaller monasteries.
- 1537. Pilgrimage of Grace.
- 1539. Dissolution of the larger monasteries.
- 1539. Act of Six Articles.
- 1540. Execution of Cromwell.
- 1547. Accession of Edward VI.
- 1553. Accession of Mary.
- 1558. Accession of Elizabeth.
- 1559. Act of Uniformity.
- 1568. Flight of Mary Queen of Scots to England.

- 1587. Execution of Mary.
- 1588. The Spanish Armada.
- 1603. Death of Elizabeth

EXERCISES

1. Compare the fall of Wolsey with the fall of Cromwell.
2. What effects were produced in England by
 - (a) the transition to extreme Protestantism of 1547-53?
 - (b) the transition to extreme Catholicism of 1553-8?
3. What were the chief perils confronting Queen Elizabeth?
4. Tell the story of Mary Queen of Scots.
5. How did Elizabeth restore peace in England and English power abroad?
6. Compare the characters of Henry VIII and Elizabeth.

5

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

THE struggle between Lutheran and Catholic in Germany had been ended in 1555 by the Edict of Augsburg, which, as the sixteenth century passed on, became less and less of a solution. The power of the princes to dictate the faith of their subjects naturally displeased the people, who wanted freedom of religion. Calvinism in the meantime had spread almost as rapidly in Germany as it had done in France, with the result that there were thousands of people who were practising a religion that was not officially recognized. Another cause of dispute lay in the clause applying to the seizure of Catholic Church lands. Many of the German princes had become Lutherans because they wanted to possess these lands. The Edict of Augsburg declared that all lands taken by Protestants after 1552 should be restored.

All these grievances agitated Germany throughout the latter half of the century, but there was as yet no open

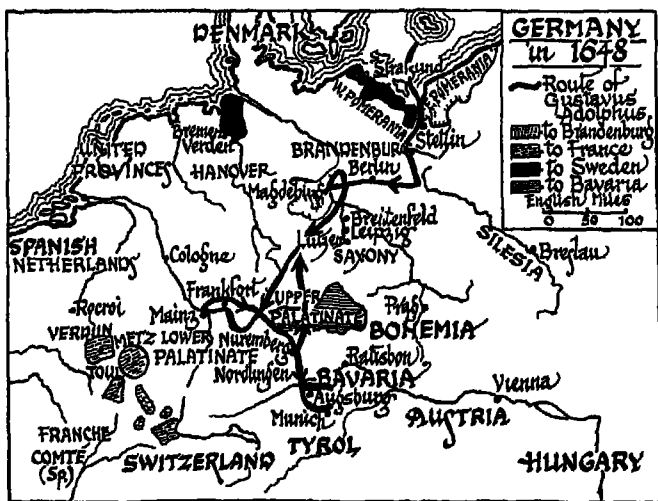
war. Ferdinand I (1556-64), Charles's brother, had a great deal of sympathy with Protestantism, and, in spite of the Edict of Augsburg, had done nothing to keep it in check. His son and successor, Maximilian II, was definitely inclined to favour Lutheranism, but family interests kept him a Catholic. When, however, Calvinism grew strong in Germany, the disunion between the two sects gave an opening for the forces of the Catholic reaction. The Jesuits became active, the Prince of Bavaria, whose family had remained true to the Pope, began to put down Protestantism, and the new Emperor, Rudolf II, was a strong Catholic. Thus various disputes arose, in which Protestants were not always successful.

During the reign of the Emperor Matthias the country came nearer and nearer to civil war. When a rising occurred in Transylvania under Bethlen Gabor, and the Turks attacked in Hungary, the Protestants refused to give help to the Emperor. But, chief of all, Calvinism was growing in Bohemia. Matthias sent to Bohemia two noblemen named Martinitz and Slawata, charged with the duty of keeping down the new religion. On 23rd May 1618, Martinitz and Slawata summoned before them the spokesmen of the Calvinists, and threatened to punish them as rebels. The Calvinists became angry, and the scene ended in the Emperor's representatives being seized bodily and thrown from the window of the royal castle. They dropped seventy feet, and their lives were only saved because they fell on a heap of rubbish. This event, the famous 'Defenestration of Prag', was the signal for the rising of all Bohemia.

In 1619 the Bohemians found a leader in Frederick, Elector Palatine, and they offered to him the crown of Bohemia. Frederick was not a man of outstanding ability, and at first he did not want to accept, owing to the great risk involved. But his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, was a woman of great ambition. She and

Frederick's Ministers at last persuaded him, and in November 1619 he was in Prag.

War was inevitable, but it was at first confined to the Empire. Frederick and the Bohemians were on the one side, Ferdinand, the new Emperor, and Maximilian of Bavaria on the other. Vigorous action might have ended in the capture of Vienna by the Protestants, but Frederick was wasting his time in Prag. He only realized his peril



when an army of Austrians and Bavarians, led by Count Tilly, marched on Bohemia. Frederick foolishly came out of Prag to fight an Imperial army superior to his own. In a single hour the Bohemians were routed at the battle of the White Hill. Frederick escaped to Breslau and then to Brandenburg. He was placed under the Imperial ban and his lands were taken from him. Thus the first stage of the Thirty Years' War ended in 1621 with the complete defeat of Calvinism in Germany.

Other states were soon involved in the conflict. The Spanish king, seeing his Austrian relative in difficulties, occupied the Valtelline, a pass between Austria and Italy, through which the Spaniards and Austrians could communicate with each other. The French, jealous of this combination, sent men and drove the Spaniards out. Alarm was also felt among the Protestants of Europe. King Christian IV of Denmark had seen with alarm the events of the past two years. He was a Protestant prince who held the two Imperial towns of Bremen and Verden, and feared that he might be dispossessed of them. In 1625 he declared war against the Emperor and was completely defeated.

In the meantime, Count Tilly had appealed to the Emperor to send him more men. In the council of war which followed, Count Albert von Wallenstein volunteered to raise an army of twenty thousand men, and to maintain them at his own expense. The Emperor accepted his offer, and Wallenstein began the formation of his army by offering a hundred colonelcies to the greater nobles. Each of these he charged with the task of providing a certain number of men by the same method. In a very short time he had gathered together an army such as the world had not seen before. Ruffians and rogues of every nationality flocked to his banner in the confident hope that they would be rewarded with a large amount of German plunder. This was all according to Wallenstein's plan, for he had intended that the new army should be supported by compulsory levies on all the districts through which it passed.

Albert von Wallenstein was a first-rate general. He met Mansfeld, the Protestant leader, inflicted a great defeat on him at Dessau, and made him disband his army. In 1626 he drove the Danes into Silesia, and then attacked Denmark itself, never stopping in his victorious march till he reached the extreme north of the peninsula. The Emperor made him 'Admiral of the Ocean and of the Baltic Sea',

and he laid siege to the town of Stralsund. But the Kings of Denmark and Sweden sent provisions to the town by sea, and Wallenstein had to raise the siege after having lost almost half his army.

The war was rapidly spreading. Ferdinand, elated by the overwhelming success of his armies, thought that it was time to root Protestantism for ever from the Empire. In 1629, therefore, he was induced by his advisers to issue the Edict of Restitution, decreeing the restoration of all lands which had previously been taken from the Catholic Church. But Wallenstein was disappointed and quarrelled with the Emperor for not continuing the war. Maximilian of Bavaria, who had always been jealous of Wallenstein, now saw his chance, and in an assembly at Ratisbon in 1630, the Emperor was induced to dismiss his best general.

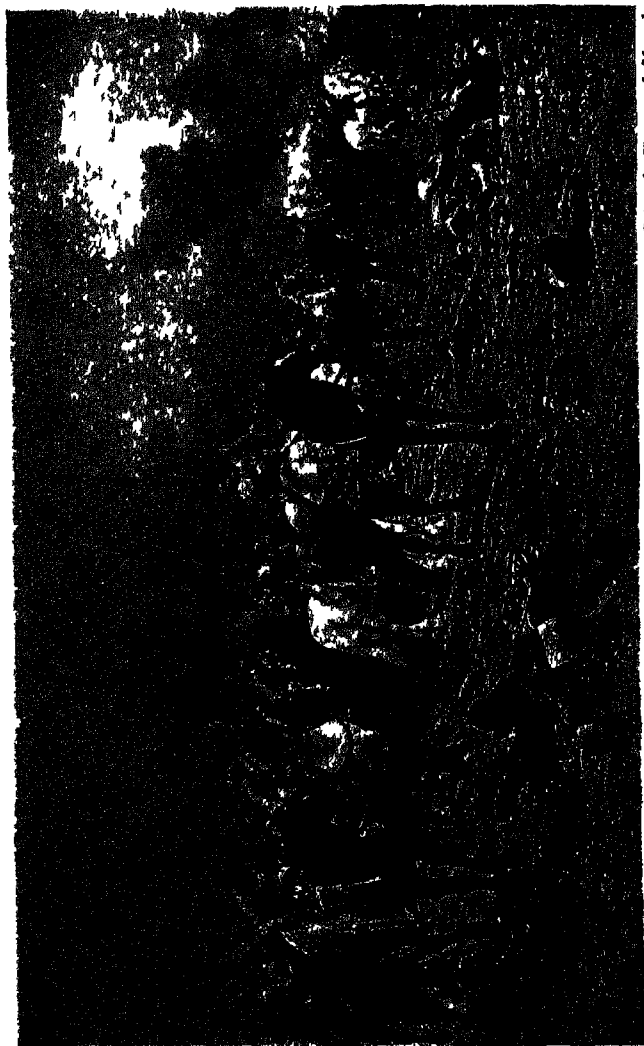
For this the French were to some extent responsible. In that country great consternation had been caused by the success of the Habsburgs. Ever since the wars of Francis and Charles, the two states had been at variance. The real ruler of France at this time was Cardinal Richelieu, and one of his chief objects was to weaken the Habsburg power. He too realized that the dismissal of Wallenstein would rid France of a possible enemy, and so he sent secret envoys to the Emperor to do all they could to obtain it. The Edict of Restitution increased Protestant resistance, while the dismissal of Wallenstein weakened the Empire. In 1630 the danger to the Empire became great, for the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, entered the war.

Sweden at this time was a great power. In 1521 an energetic young noble named Gustavus Vasa had seized the crown, and by the defeat of the Hansa League, he had made the country rich. His successors followed up his policy. Gustavus Adolphus, who came to the throne in 1611, had already extended his power in the Baltic by defeating Denmark. Now he saw it threatened by the Emperor, who was persecuting his fellow Calvinists. The

wily Cardinal Richelieu, seeing in him an admirable instrument for the ruin of the Habsburgs, made a treaty with him, promising him an annual sum of money if he would keep thirty-six thousand men in the field. For two years Germany was the scene of intense warfare. Gustavus Adolphus marched south from Pomerania. Tilly marched north to Magdeburg, which would not accept the Edict of Restitution. Before the Swedes could reach the city, it had gone up in flames, and horrible atrocities had been perpetrated. It is said that here about twenty-one thousand people lost their lives in three days. Gustavus arrived before Magdeburg to find it a mass of smoking ruins. He marched on through Brandenburg and Saxony, where he forced the two Lutheran Electors to join him. On 7th September 1631 he encountered Tilly's army at Breitenfeld near Leipzig, and completely defeated it. He pursued Tilly through Westphalia, and, in November, Frankfort opened its gates to him.

'The Snow King will melt when he reaches the sunny south', the Catholics had said, but their prophecy did not come true. Gustavus remained a whole year in South Germany. Tilly was defeated and slain at the battle of Lechfeld. Gustavus passed through Augsburg, and entered Munich in triumph. In desperation, Maximilian of Bavaria appealed to Wallenstein, and had to give him the supreme command of the armies. To avoid a conflict, Gustavus shut himself up in Nuremberg. Wallenstein took up his position on the hill above the town, and for nine months these two redoubtable generals faced each other without an engagement.

In September 1632 Gustavus moved into Bavaria, but an attack on Saxony by Wallenstein compelled him to return. He reached Lutzen with eighteen thousand men and there met the Imperial army of about thirty thousand, securely entrenched. Gustavus' troops were old and tried. They offered up a prayer, and soon the opposing army



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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND HIS MEN PRAYING BEFORE THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN
(*From Bremen*)

heard the loud strains of Luther's hymn, 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott', carried along by the wind. 'And now, my hearts, let us bravely on against our enemies,' cried Gustavus as he drew his sword and advanced at the head of the army.

The engagement which followed was long and terrible. The Swedes, under murderous fire, broke the columns of the Imperial infantry and were charging the cuirassiers. Gustavus in his enthusiasm went too far in front of his men and, in a *mêlée*, was brought to the ground and killed. The Swedes fought desperately and, after a struggle lasting nine hours, drove Wallenstein from the field.

The campaigns which followed amounted to little more than a series of plundering expeditions. The Swedish troops, led by Chancellor Oxenstiern, now constituted but another of the many foreign scourges to which the land was subjected. Wallenstein was intent on carving out a principality for himself, but in 1634 he was brutally murdered by his own officers.

Cardinal Richelieu had seen the effects of supporting Sweden, and had for three years helped Gustavus Adolphus to take part in the war. Now that the power of the Empire was at its lowest ebb, he hoped to take from the Habsburgs all the lands on the left bank of the River Rhine. After securing the support of various states by promises of rewards, he flung all the might of France into the struggle.

The rest of the story of the Thirty Years' War is mainly concerned with a series of campaigns which added more horrors to the already great sufferings of the German people. The Emperor Ferdinand died in 1637, Cardinal Richelieu died in 1642, and still the war went on. Six years of negotiation finally opened up the way to the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Wars have been known to continue so long that, at the conclusion of peace, the actual causes of the wars have been quite forgotten. The negotiations ending in 1648 certainly

gave the powers a great number of problems to solve. By this peace the original dispute was settled, and the Calvinists were rewarded by freedom of religion, a new date, 1624, being fixed for the restoration of Church lands. Bavaria obtained half the Palatinate and its Duke became an Elector, while an eighth Electorate was made for the Elector Palatine, who only received about half the lands he had held in 1618. Brandenburg received eastern Pomerania and a promise of Magdeburg when the Elector of Saxony died. The western half of Pomerania was given to Sweden, together with the towns of Bremen and Verden, which had originally belonged to Denmark.

Of all the benefits received, those of France were the greatest. Cardinal Richelieu had played his game cleverly, allowing others to fight his battles for him, and keeping out of the struggle till the enemy was worn down. The final defeat of the Habsburgs was accomplished by Turenne and Condé, the great generals of France, who won the battles of Rocroi (1643), and Nordlingen (1645). The reward for the cunning of Richelieu was received in 1648 when France was given the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, a great part of Alsace, and small gains in Italy.

The conclusion of the Thirty Years' War marked a distinct step in the development of the states of modern Europe. Firstly, it ended that series of wars which were fought in the name of religion. It also brought about the rise of new nationalities. Sweden now began to take a prominent part in European affairs, and the Electorate of Brandenburg took the first steps towards the domination of Germany. Spain had lost her great name for ever. The might of Philip II was no more, and his country had sunk to the level of a third-rate power. It seemed, too, that in time the Holy Roman Empire would break up, for its provinces had been laid waste and many of its princes were now acting as independent monarchs.

Spain alone refused to accede to the terms of the Treaty

of Westphalia. For eleven more years the struggle between Spain and France raged along the borderlands of Navarre and the disputed line of towns in Flanders. In 1659 Spain retired from the conflict defeated, and Cardinal Mazarin secured another triumph for his country.

CHIEF DATES

- 1618. Defenestration of Prag.
- 1620. Battle of the White Hill.
- 1626. Intervention of Denmark.
- 1626. Wallenstein in the Emperor's service.
- 1628. Siege of Stralsund.
- 1629. Edict of Restitution.
- 1630. Wallenstein dismissed.
- 1630. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden enters the war.
- 1631. Battle of Breitenfeld.
- 1632. Battle of Lutzen.
- 1634. Assassination of Wallenstein.
- 1635. Declaration of war by France.
- 1648. Treaty of Westphalia.

EXERCISES

1. What were the provisions of the Edict of Augsburg, and how did they give rise to discontent in Germany after 1555?
2. Give an account of the Bohemian rebellion.
3. Why did the 'Thirty Years' War develop from a rebellion within the Empire to an international struggle?
4. Draw up a tabulated summary of the 'Thirty Years' War with the following column headings:
 - (a) Date of declaring war.
 - (b) Objects of declaring war.
 - (c) Gains or losses at the Peace of Westphalia.
5. Write a detailed account of the aims of Cardinal Richelieu in this war, and of the methods he adopted to achieve them.
6. Would you consider the Peace of Westphalia a satisfactory conclusion?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Dark.	<i>Twelve Great Ladies.</i>
Batiffol.	<i>The Century of the Renaissance</i> (National History of France.)
Willert.	<i>Henry of Navarre.</i> (Heroes of the Nations.)
Putnam.	<i>William the Silent.</i> (Heroes of the Nations.)
Harrison.	<i>William the Silent.</i>
Motley.	<i>Rise of the Dutch Republic.</i>
Green.	<i>Short History of the English People.</i>
Fletcher.	<i>Gustavus Adolphus.</i> (Heroes of the Nations.)
Dyer and Hassall.	<i>Modern Europe</i> , vol. iii.
Wakeman.	<i>The Ascendancy of France.</i>

CHAPTER VI

DESPOTISM AND COMMONWEALTH

I

CARDINAL RICHELIEU

HENRY IV of France was assassinated before his great work of regenerating his country was completed. His death had been the signal for confusion. His wife, Marie de' Medici, was stupid, bad-tempered, obstinate, and jealous of everybody. She now had seven years of uncontrolled power, during which she filled the court with her own favourites, who helped her to drain the resources of the state which Sully had so carefully husbanded. She hated this 'old, snarling greybeard' who had refused to give her as much pocket-money as she wanted, and in 1611 she made his position so uncomfortable that he was compelled to resign. He spent the last thirty years of his life in sullen retirement, and had the bitter lot of seeing all the results of his devotion squandered, and the fortunes of France restored by another.

The condition of France was far from satisfactory. Marie cared more for her astrologers and her favourites than she did for her son. The Huguenots were furious at the forced retirement of Sully, and the nobles saw their chance of snatching a share of the rich spoils he had left behind. They revolted under Condé, and were palliated by the payment of huge sums from the ever-open treasury. The States-General met, but the nobles, clergy, and commons could not agree. The country in the meantime was governed by a Florentine, Concino Concini, whose wife, a waiting-woman, had found her way into the favour of the queen. Concini was nothing more than an adventurer who had achieved success and who now loved to show his own

power over everybody. The whole court detested him. He blustered about, flying into fits of rage whenever his word was not immediately obeyed. 'If they don't love me,' he said, 'I will at least make them fear me.'

The King of France, Louis XIII, was nine years of age when he ascended the throne. He was a poor, pale boy, who showed few signs of intellect or zeal for hard work. No thought was given to his welfare by his mother, and he was left to develop into a childish young man whose greatest enjoyment was in playing soldiers, beating drums, and supervising mock parades. He loved to dig in the garden, to cook joints and make jam in the kitchen. In the meantime the court showered adulation on the vain and boastful Concini, while the poor young king crouched in corners, shunned by all, and gazed with envy at the show in which he should have been the chief figure.

Yet Louis was not such a fool as people imagined. Stung to the quick by the neglect of his interests, he gathered round him a body of faithful friends, resolved on the downfall of the proud favourite. They went, on the king's order, to arrest him, but when he resisted they shot him down. For some years after this, France enjoyed a period of comparative quiet under the rule of Louis's Minister, M. de Luynes. Louis learnt much practical statesmanship through having to put a check on this Minister, who talked glibly of a thousand schemes, but did not know how to carry one of them out. In this period, Louis began to show an interest in manly sports, especially hunting and outdoor games. Yet this did not make him attractive. He was thin and ungainly, heavy of eye and pale of face. He stammered badly and was always uncomfortable in company, preferring his own quiet pursuits, which, in maturity, had blossomed into hobbies and made him a skilled craftsman and a keen observer.

When Luynes died in 1621, Louis was reconciled to his mother and she returned to Paris. It was among her

following that Louis found the man who was destined to be the future ruler of France.

Armand-Jean du Plessis de Richelieu was born in 1585 of Poitevin stock. His father had served in the household of Henry III, but when Henry IV became king he retired to the family château at Richelieu. Here the boy was brought up during the closing years of the civil wars. He was a very ambitious boy, and was at first intended for a career in the army, in which he would doubtless have been a success. But, when his elder brother forsook a career in the Church to be a monk, young Richelieu accepted, rather unwillingly, his brother's old position. It was no mean one, however, for in 1606 he was nominated to a bishopric, but the Pope would not ratify the nomination. It is characteristic of Richelieu's determination and promptitude of action that he went himself during the next year to Rome and was consecrated in the spring of 1607.

He was, however, far more attracted by the glamour of the court than by his lean living, with its decaying cathedral and hostile canons. During the time he was reforming his diocese, his thoughts were always focused on what was going on in Paris, and he wrote himself a little manual, 'Instructions and maxims that I have given myself to guide my conduct at court.' This betrays to us, more than anything else, his worldliness. In this manual were hints of all kinds—to find places where the king's glance would fall, to stop speaking when the king drank, to visit all nobles, to copy all letters, and thus, by his courtesy and wide knowledge of the affairs of other people, to persuade the king that he might be a useful man.

The death of Henry gave him his chance, and his position in court grew stronger as time went on. Sully retired, the nobles were paid to keep quiet, and Richelieu watched all this, biding his time. He was present at the States-General of 1614, and paid continual attention to the queen-mother and her pale, silent son. In 1616 he became chaplain to

Queen Anne, the Spanish bride of Louis XIII, and took up his residence in Paris. After the murder of Concini he left Paris with the queen-mother but returned in 1622 when she was reconciled to her son. In that year he was made a cardinal; in 1623 he was admitted to the King's Council, where he claimed the right of presiding. The king was so impressed with his ability that in 1624 he entrusted him with the formation of a Ministry.

How different the proud cardinal was from the humble bishop who first sought favour in the eyes of Marie de' Medici. He was a man who would tolerate no rivals, a hard worker, and a faithful servant to his less gifted master. He gloried in power, and his reward was the pomp and splendour it gave him. He delighted in display, and, though a cardinal, outshone the vainglorious nobles of the king's court, who regarded him with profound hatred.

'When your Majesty made me Minister,' Richelieu once said to the king, 'I vowed to subdue the Huguenots, to lower the pride of the nobles, and to put France first among the nations of Europe.' To this end, Richelieu worked for eighteen years, and his undaunted courage and perseverance brought him success.

The Edict of Nantes in 1598 had given the Huguenots freedom of religion. During the reign of Henry IV they achieved great prosperity and became a credit to their country. But later they began to desire more privileges, and dreamed of establishing an independent Protestant community around the town of La Rochelle, their chief fortress. The confusion which followed the regency of Marie de' Medici had brought about revolts, and Huguenot sailors, like the old Dutch 'Water Beggars', were robbing French ships on the high seas.

Richelieu had long realized that the growth of liberty among the Protestants would in time bring calamity and civil war, and in 1625 he set about destroying the 'Wasps' Nest', as he called it, at La Rochelle. He built many ships



Opp. 1871, 1872

CARDINAL RICHELIEU AT LA ROCHELLE
(*Henri Motte*)

and established a strong garrison in two forts on the Island of Ré, opposite the harbour.

But the Huguenots were not without allies. The English, angry at a peace treaty which had been made between France and Spain, sent ships in 1627 to help them against the French king. The Duke of Buckingham, who had persuaded Charles I to undertake this war, and who was in command of the English forces, could have entered La Rochelle, but instead of this he blockaded one of the forts on the Island of Ré. In the meantime Richelieu gathered strong forces outside the town and launched a vigorous attack. The English were hopelessly defeated and soon the people of La Rochelle saw the British ships, their only hope of success, disappear far away in the north-east. Richelieu celebrated his triumph by sending forty-four British standards, captured in battle, as trophies to Paris.

During the months which followed, the French showed great energy. A long line of trenches was dug round the town and strengthened at every important point by batteries of guns. Richelieu rode here and there inspiring his men with confidence. He cast off the sombre garb of the Church and showed himself as a soldier with plumes, red coat, sword, and pistols. His men were well equipped and fed and their pay was always regular. Under such conditions and with such a leader the French army worked wonders in three months. A mole, or dike, almost a quarter of a mile long was built up across the mouth of the harbour, and now it bristled with guns. The French only needed to wait for starvation to do its work.

Food gradually became scarcer in the city and the poor inhabitants were reduced to boiling their boots and belts. Rations were cut down, and the wealthier people talked of surrender. But the sailors and the poorer classes, who were in a majority, would have none of it, and elected a mayor of their own class, a bluff old seadog named Guiton. He began his first speech by a fierce attack on all cowards,

and, throwing down his dagger, cried, 'I do not want to be mayor, but, since you wish it, well, there is my knife for the first man who talks of surrender'. Guition expelled from the city those who were useless, but Richelieu would allow nobody to pass through the besieging lines, and many died of starvation.

One day the beleaguered Huguenots were surprised by the sight of a number of English ships which conducted manœuvres in the bay, but some days later they sailed away again. A deputation of citizens was now sent to the royal lines. When Richelieu asked what they wanted, they replied that they would surrender, but only on good terms, as they still had food. 'Very well,' replied Richelieu, 'come in a week; the king is not here.' At this the citizens implored him to accept their surrender at once, as they could not hold out more than another three days. 'I knew it,' said Richelieu; 'now we can talk.'

The Huguenots had to submit unconditionally to Louis, but were promised their lives and their liberty. The walls of La Rochelle were destroyed and the privileges of the town taken away. On 1st November 1628, Louis and his army passed through streets thinly lined with men and women, worn to skeletons by starvation, who raised a faint cheer as the king went by. Out of twenty-eight thousand people, only five thousand remained.

Richelieu was wise in granting the Huguenots freedom of worship, for with the surrender of La Rochelle many other towns gave up the struggle. Thanks to the mild terms which Richelieu gave, they soon became prosperous again and for years carried on France's most important industries.

The wild spirit which the nobles had shown under Marie de' Medici now broke out in the form of plots and rebellions. Richelieu realized that, if the Condés, the Montmorencys, and such, were to be masters, France could only expect anarchy and bloodshed. He therefore dealt very drastically with them.

These plots were numerous, and most of them were connected with the name of the king's younger brother, Gaston of Orleans. Gaston was good-hearted and good-mannered, but weak of will, having no sense whatever of his responsibilities as a prince. During the day he idled about with his hands in his pockets and his hat at an angle, whistling a popular air, and at night he strolled about town in company with a few rakes like himself. He was therefore the tool of all malcontents, but even in that he was a failure, for he was too rank a coward to be able to carry any bold plan to its conclusion. He was led time after time into plots to dethrone the king and to assassinate Richelieu, but every one of these was found out. His accomplices, both great and small, went to the block or into exile, but Gaston was pardoned time and time again.

In 1626 Gaston, with another young noble named Chalais, was involved in a plot to kill the king and Richelieu and to crown Gaston. Careful arrangements were made to catch the cardinal at breakfast and murder him. On the appointed day, however, when Gaston awoke, he saw Richelieu standing at his bedside ready to hand him his shirt. 'I am sorry,' said Richelieu, 'that I did not know you were coming to visit me, or I should have been ready.' When the news of the execution of Chalais reached Gaston he was playing cards. He made no motion of regret, but went on with the game as if nothing had happened.

In 1636 another conspiracy was hatched by Gaston and the Count of Soissons, but Gaston, who was to give the signal to the murderers, suddenly took fright at the last moment and fled. Gaston and Soissons raised a rebellion in the north of France, but in 1642 it collapsed after Soissons had been killed in battle. In the same year, Gaston, the Duke of Bouillon, François de Thou, and the Marquis of Cinq-Mars, a young favourite of the king, formed another conspiracy and signed a treaty with Spain, but Richelieu procured a copy of it. Cinq-Mars and de Thou

were executed, but Gaston again found pardon. Cardinal Richelieu had succeeded before his death, not in subduing the nobles entirely, but in frightening them, so that one by one they were dropping out of political life. So many of them had been executed because of plots that one, lucky enough to be dying a natural death, said: 'What a surprise it will be to those in the next world to receive a Marshal of France with his head still on his shoulders'.

Richelieu issued an edict ordering the demolition of all feudal castles which were not needed for the defence of the country, and he created a number of powerful government officials named 'intendants', who supervised the administration of the provinces, and who took control of the police, justice, and money matters. Thus the nobles were robbed of almost all their political power and became more and more subservient to the king.

Richelieu was quite as successful in foreign affairs. During the Thirty Years' War he led campaigns, in person, against the Spaniards, who had seized the Valtelline, and in 1626 he made it independent. Three years later he disputed a claim to the succession of Mantua, drove out the Spaniards, gave the province to the Duke of Nevers, a French nobleman, and acquired for his country the important fortress of Pinerolo. His great ambition was to establish the River Rhine as the permanent boundary of France on the east, and therefore he devoted all his attention to ruining the power of Austria, worked for the dismissal of Wallenstein, and supported Gustavus Adolphus. In 1635 he declared war against the Empire, and before he died had the satisfaction of seeing the French on the way to victory.

'May God condemn me,' said Richelieu when he was dying, 'if I have ever had any other object save the welfare of God and state'. He had succeeded, in face of great opposition, in placing the power in the hands of the king. The hatred of others had not deterred him from his purpose, for his was a character which did not ask for the love of

men. Even the king, who owed so much to him, could not regard him with affection, though he admired and respected his abilities. Only one man really loved him, and that man was the old Capuchin monk, Father Joseph, his confidant and secret envoy. Father Joseph, too, was hated by all, and the courtiers sneered when they saw his grey-clad figure pass them in the corridors of the palace.

The Great Cardinal died on 4th December 1642. Though he had held one of the highest offices of the Roman Church, the way he had helped the German Protestants to destroy the power of the Habsburgs shows us that he always put the welfare of France first. It has been said that, but for him, all Europe would have been brought back to the Roman faith, and there is some justification for the statement.

Louis XIII did not long survive his great Minister. He died in May 1643, leaving the throne to his son, a boy of four years of age. Yet another chance was thus offered for the forces of anarchy to rise. Could France produce another Richelieu to crush them?

CHIEF DATES

- 1585. Birth of Richelieu.
- 1610. Accession of Louis XIII.
- 1621. Death of Luynes.
- 1624. Richelieu chief Minister of France.
- 1626. Plot of Chalais.
- 1627-8. Siege of La Rochelle.
- 1641. Rebellion of the Count of Soissons.
- 1642. Death of Richelieu.

EXERCISES

1. Describe the means by which Richelieu rose from obscurity to power.
2. What elements in the character of Richelieu made him fitted to restore the prosperity of France?

3. 'When your Majesty made me Minister, I vowed to subdue the Huguenots, to lower the pride of the nobles, and to put France first among the nations of Europe.' How far did Richelieu succeed in doing this?

4. On what occasions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did the French help the German Protestants? Why, being Catholic themselves, did they do this?

5. Why did Richelieu consider the Huguenots a danger to the state? How did his settlement of the Huguenot problem show his wisdom?

6. Give an account of the siege of La Rochelle.

7. Describe the character of Gaston of Orleans, and show how his activities threatened the security of the state.

2

KING AND PARLIAMENT

THE death of Henry IV of France, in 1610, brought about a struggle which in the end placed unrestrained power in the hands of the French king. In England, at the same time, another struggle was being carried on which, in the absence of men like Richelieu, threw the power into the hands of the Parliament and ended with the execution of an English king.

James I ascended the throne in 1603, and his coming was the signal for religious disturbances. The activities of the Jesuit missionaries had brought about a rapid spread of Catholicism during the last years of Elizabeth's reign, in spite of her rigid prohibitions. At the same time, the increased number of people who were now studying the English Bible contributed to the spread of Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and other Calvinistic faiths. James I was the son of a Catholic mother, but during her captivity he had been brought up as a Presbyterian. It was hoped that when he came to the English throne he would allow freedom

of worship both to Catholics and Punitans. He called a conference at Hampton Court at which both parties were represented. They were disappointed when they heard from the king himself that he would stand firmly by the Church of England and would instruct his bishops to be stricter than before with those who would not conform. In 1604 and 1605 there were plots against his life, the best known of which is the famous Gunpowder Plot, when a party of Catholics attempted to blow up both the king and Parliament. Severe laws against Catholics were now passed, and these were rigorously enforced for some years.

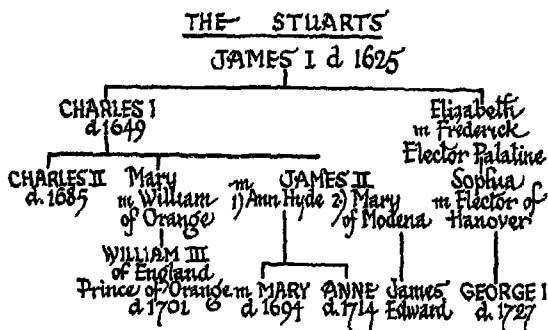


GUNPOWDER PLOT

The Stuart period marks the beginning of the struggle between King and Parliament. James believed that the king was appointed by God to rule over the people, and was responsible for his doings, not to his subjects, but to God alone. Whatever he did was right, and, though it might not please the people, they had no right to protest against it. But English people had at various times during their history asserted themselves and had obtained certain rights. They had established a Parliament, without whose consent the king could neither make laws nor collect taxes. James, however, appointed his own Ministers, and

expected them to do his will without regard to the desires of Parliament.

His problems were far greater than those of Elizabeth had been, for he was at the outset a foreigner, and the people distrusted him. A great rise in prices had caused the expenses of government to mount so high that they could not be met by the usual taxation, but James increased them by large sums, which he spent on his court and his personal favourites. He imposed additional customs-duties which, together with the endless disputes about parliamentary rights, foreign affairs, and the Church, made him more



and more unpopular. Yet to the end of his reign he maintained his principles, but in that period of twenty-two years, a new spirit of independence had been brought into being among the members of the House of Commons, who now, jealous of their rights, were prepared to continue the struggle against absolute rule.

James was succeeded in 1625 by his son Charles, who had been brought up, by his father, also to believe in the Divine Right of Kings. The opening of his reign was the signal for the beginning of a great duel. Charles was even more under the sway of favourites than his father had been. The

chief of these, the Duke of Buckingham, was a vain and worthless man who sought honour and glory for himself before anything else, and he persuaded Charles that a war with Spain was necessary. Charles's first act when he became king was to declare war. Then he called a Parliament and asked for supplies. But Parliament did not trust Buckingham and would not grant a large enough sum. The king dissolved it within a fortnight and went on with the war. An English fleet sailed to Cadiz, but the men were mutinous and the leaders incapable. It returned without having accomplished anything, and the king was compelled to call a second Parliament to get more money. The Commons met in an angry mood. They denounced Buckingham as corrupt and incompetent, and refused to grant a penny till he had been impeached. Buckingham sat in the House of Lords and heard the charges against him read out. John Eliot, the spokesman of the Commons, attacked him violently. 'By him came all our evils, in him we find the causes, and 'on him must be the remedies.' Charles, seeing no hope of obtaining money, promptly dissolved Parliament.

The war with Spain came to naught, but the Duke of Buckingham was not satisfied. In 1627 he picked a quarrel with Richelieu, and prevailed on Charles to equip an English fleet to sail to La Rochelle to help the Huguenots. Since Charles had not been able to get money from Parliament, he resolved to force the people to lend it to him, with little prospect of its repayment. Those who refused were put into prison. With the money thus wrung from his subjects he sent the Duke of Buckingham on the unfortunate expedition to La Rochelle.

The fighting on the 'Isle of Rue' proved so expensive that Charles in 1628 had to call another Parliament. In response to his request for money the members drew up a document known as the 'Petition of Right' by which the king promised to extort no more taxes without the consent of

These three figures, which are here presented, should be rooted up.



The other two, of men and of the Devill,
Ought to be rooted out for ere as evill.

A PURITAN CARICATURE OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD
The figure on the left is a Puritan holding a Bible. The two other figures
are of Archbishop Laud with his service books.

Parliament, and to send no more people to prison without just cause. Charles agreed to it, and received £400,000. In 1628 the Duke of Buckingham was stabbed by a fanatic. The people went mad with joy. 'God bless thee, little David,' they cried out as the murderer was led through London.

The evils of England, however, were not yet over, for Charles found other men to do his will. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a member of the Parliament of 1628, found his way into the king's favour and continued the work. He was another Thomas Cromwell. The Court of Star Chamber was re-created, and severe penalties were imposed on all who would not or could not pay. Charles also found a Minister to govern the Church. William Laud, Bishop of London, was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He believed that in religion all people should think and act alike, and he tried to force them to adopt all kinds of ceremonies unknown in England since the time of Henry VIII. Those who refused were tried before the Court of High Commission. Barbarous punishments were administered. The branding-iron and the pillory were used, and people were publicly whipped in the streets.

For eleven years Charles ruled without a Parliament, but at last his system of despotism broke down. Laud had been trying to abolish Presbyterianism in Scotland and to introduce the English Church there, but the Scots rebelled. Books and stools were thrown at the heads of ministers who used the new Prayer-book, and the Scots in 1638 made the National Covenant to defend their religion. They cast out the bishops, seized the royal fortresses, and crossed the border. Charles had no money and was obliged to make peace. In 1640 he called a Parliament, but the Commons refused to give help, insisting on a discussion of their grievances first. He hurriedly dismissed them and collected an army, but the men were unreliable and could not fight. The Scots, many of them veterans from the Thirty Years'

War, were everywhere victorious. Charles had to make a truce with them and called together his fifth Parliament.

Retribution came quickly. The new Commons set themselves to undo that which had been done during the last eleven years, and Charles saw every shred of power slip out of his grasp. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was sent to the block, to which the unfortunate Laud was later to follow him. Jubilation in London was greater at the death of Strafford than it had been at the death of Buckingham. The air was red with the light of fires, the bells were rung, and the people made holiday.

Parliament now drew up a document called the 'Grand Remonstrance', which recounted the misdeeds of Charles from the beginning of his reign. The debate on it continued well into the night and finished in candle-light. Swords were drawn, the arguments became hotter and hotter, and the House 'sat in the shadow of death'. At last the remonstrance was passed by a hundred and fifty-nine votes against a hundred and forty-eight, and copies were circulated throughout the country.

This last humiliation spurred Charles to action, and he determined to make a last effort to bring the ringleaders to book. On 30th January 1642 he gave orders for the arrest of five members, among whom were John Hampden and John Pym, but they had fled to London. The next day he went to the House himself with three hundred gentlemen and demanded that the members be given up to him. 'Is Mr. Pym here?' the king asked. There was no answer, and Charles turned to the Speaker and asked if the five members were present. 'Your Majesty,' replied Lenthall, falling on his knees, 'I have neither eyes nor tongue to see or say anything save what the House commands me.' 'Well, well,' replied Charles angrily, 'I think my eyes are as good as another's.' He looked round, but saw not one of the five. 'Well, well, my birds are flown, I think; but I do expect that you will send them to me.'

The whole country now prepared for civil war. On the Puritan and Parliamentary side were the majority of the inhabitants of the big towns, the country squires, artisans, and merchants, especially in the east and south of England. Many of these were strict Puritans, simple in taste and sombre in dress, whose custom of cropping their hair earned them the name 'Roundheads'. The king's supporters consisted mainly of non-Puritan nobility who followed tradition and were against any alteration in government. They were reinforced by a considerable number of Catholics who hoped that a royal victory would give them freedom, and also by many gentlemen of fortune who had learnt the art of warfare on the Continent. The universities, too, favoured the king and melted down their plate to give to him.

At the beginning of the war, Parliament was at a disadvantage, for, although its leaders were in deadly earnest, its soldiers were untrained and without experience. The king therefore hoped for an early victory. He tried to compel the port of Hull to surrender, but the governor refused to open the gates, and thus one important city of the north served as a rallying-place for the Parliamentary forces. The king now made Nottingham his headquarters, and raised his standard there on 22nd August 1642. A royalist march on London ended in a battle at Edgehill in October, but night fell before either side could force a victory.

Meanwhile, on the Parliamentary side, one man, whose name had at first been heard very infrequently, was now coming to the fore. He was a country gentleman of Huntingdon whose condition in life had drawn him into politics in 1628, and he had been among those members of Parliament who had presented the Petition of Right. Oliver Cromwell had reason to know of Charles's misrule, for his cousin, John Hampden, had been tried in 1637 for refusing to pay an irregular tax called 'Ship-money' which Strafford

was at that time levying. Cromwell was returned to the Parliament of 1640 as a member for Cambridge, and again to the Long Parliament in November of the same year. He had supported the Grand Remonstrance. 'If it had been rejected,' he had said as he left the House, 'I would have sold to-morrow all I possess and left England for ever.' At the beginning of the war he was raising companies in Cambridgeshire, and on 15th August captured the valuable plate which the university had melted down. He and his men were at Edgehill, where they acquitted themselves well, fighting till dusk stopped the battle.

Cromwell was disappointed with the mettle of the Parliamentary forces. He saw the Royalist cavalry pierce the ranks through and through. That night he told John Hampden why they had failed to win the battle. 'Your troops,' he said, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows, and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality; do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them?'

This was the spirit of Cromwell. To make soldiers as efficient as the Cavaliers, he relied on another discipline—the discipline of strict religion. In 1643 he was training his 'lovely company', as he called it—ten troops of soldiers. Religion and good conduct were his first considerations. The soldier who was found drunk was put in the stocks, and a fine of twelve pence was imposed for swearing. These were the men who later became known as the 'Ironsides'.

Cromwell quickly distinguished himself. The year 1643 was taken up in manœuvres, during which not one decisive action was fought. In June, John Hampden was mortally wounded at Chalgrove in Oxfordshire, and, in December, John Pym died, worn out by his exertions. Cromwell was soon to realize the enormity of these losses.

In 1644 matters began to come to a head. York was

Puritan centre and left, but all the fury of Prince Rupert's cavalry could not move Cromwell's men on the right. After Rupert's strength was thus wasted, Cromwell advanced and, step by step, turned what seemed to be defeat into victory. 'Ironsides,' exclaimed Rupert, as he saw them advancing. The name remained with them. The Ironsides drove the king's men off the field, and the whole of the north of England was thus won for the Parliament.

Throughout 1645 the war continued in the midlands. Cromwell was perfecting his New Model Army in the east when Charles moved towards him from Leicestershire. Sir Thomas Fairfax advanced from Oxfordshire and Cromwell marched to join him. The armies met at Naseby in Northamptonshire, and here the second great battle of the war was fought. The story of Marston Moor was repeated. Ireton, on the left, was captured; Skippon, in the centre, was wounded; but Cromwell's men withstood the onset and advanced, putting new heart into the army and rallying them for a final attack.

'God made them as stubble to our swords,' wrote Cromwell after Marston Moor. The defeat at Naseby was even more complete. The Royalists were chased for miles, and the king's baggage and private papers were captured. This was the last battle of the First Civil War, for, though it took a year to reduce the whole country, the king could never face the Roundheads again.

Cromwell was now almost entirely master of the country, though he had never desired to be. But the other Parliamentary leaders were incompetent, and Cromwell deemed it would be safer to remove them. In April 1645, therefore, the Self-denying Ordinance was passed, stating that no member of Parliament could also be an officer in the army, and providing for the whole force to be re-created on the new model. Only Cromwell, who was too valuable a general to lose, was excepted from the first provision.

Meanwhile, quarrels were taking place between the
ME

leaders of the Parliament. One section, the Presbyterians, desired to make terms with the king and have their religion enforced in England. The other section, the Independents, of whom Cromwell was one, sought to establish freedom of religion. Parliament and the merchants of London desired peace, and therefore supported the Presbyterians, but they had to reckon with the New Model Army, which did not intend to give up the fight till freedom of religion and freedom of government had been established. The king had given himself up to the Scots to avoid being captured in England, but they handed him over to Parliament. So bitter was the struggle, however, that the army sent an officer, Cornet Joyce, to Holmby House in Northamptonshire to seize the king's person. Cromwell was trying to make terms with Charles, when the king suddenly escaped from Hampton Court and the Second Civil War began.

For months Charles had been intriguing with the Scots and promising that, if only they would restore him to the throne, he would make all England Presbyterian. In the spring of 1648 twenty thousand Scots marched into England. Cromwell hastily collected nine thousand men and went north. He met them at Preston in Lancashire, and here was fought a terrible battle lasting three days, in which the Ironsides attacked with a fury hardly ever equalled. 'This is nothing but the hand of God,' wrote Cromwell.

In the meantime the king had been recaptured and was now in Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight. The Presbyterians in Parliament were again negotiating with him. Cromwell came to London determined to have no more of it, and to bring Charles to judgment. On 6th and 7th December 1648, Colonel Pride was ordered to place soldiers at the doors of the Houses of Parliament and to exclude all members whose names were on a list which had been given to him. A hundred and forty members were shut out by 'Pride's Purge', and the remainder, afterwards

called the 'Rump', prepared to try the king. On 20th January 1649, in Westminster Hall, he denied the right of his subjects to try him, and refused to plead. After five days he was condemned to death and the sentence was carried out on 30th January. 'Stern necessity,' murmured Cromwell, as he looked that night on the dead face in the coffin.

The king had perished, but the Civil War was not yet ended. In 1650 troubles arose in Ireland, and Cromwell put down the rebellion with merciless severity. In September of the same year, Prince Charles had roused Scotland, and Cromwell defeated him at Dunbar. In 1651 Charles invaded England. At Worcester, on 3rd September, Cromwell's last battle was fought. The peril had now passed away, and Prince Charles barely escaped with his life to France.

From 1651 to 1658 Cromwell was the sole ruler of the country. He had fought valiantly for the preservation of parliamentary rights, and when he saw the Long Parliament had betrayed its trust he used the army in the cause of freedom. He was now free to give to England all that Hampden and Pym had desired. It seemed a trick of fate that England could not now find a Parliament capable of carrying out the great work which Cromwell was ready to entrust to it. The Rump would have done away with elections altogether, but, when in 1653 the members tried to pass a law allowing them to call whom they liked to Westminster, Cromwell took a guard and dissolved them by force. 'I tell you, you are no Parliament,' he cried angrily; 'you must give place to better men.' Then, seeing the mace, the emblem of authority, 'What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away,' he said, as he handed it to an officer.

His next Parliaments were no more successful. The first, the famous 'Barebone's Parliament'—so called from the name of one of its members—dissolved itself and gave him

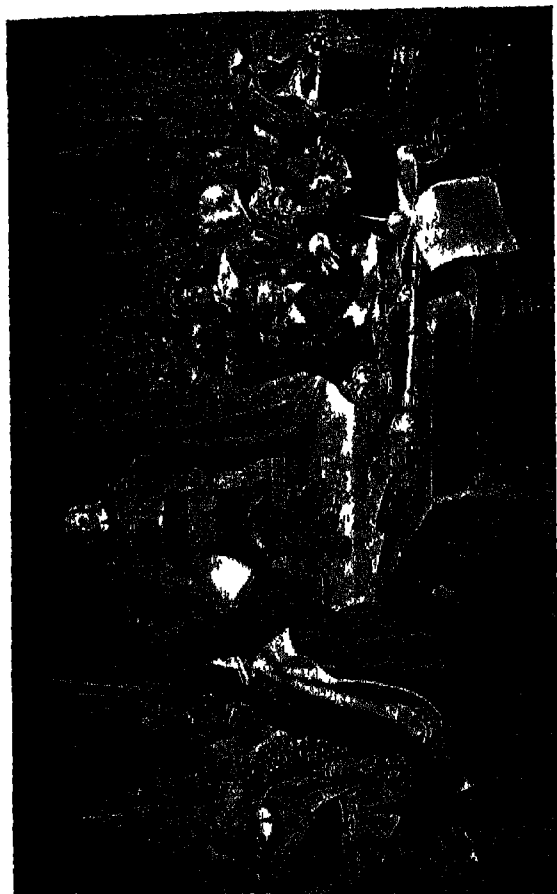


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CHARLES I WALKING TO THE SCAFFOLD
(*Ernest Crofts, R A*)

back its powers. In 1653 he became head of the state with the title of 'Protector', and called other Parliaments. The first of these, instead of passing laws, tried to alter the form of government, and he was compelled to dissolve it; the second asked him to be king, but he refused. He was left with the task of governing England alone, and he governed wisely. He divided the country into districts, each of which was supervised by a major-general. He was in favour of allowing freedom of religion, and he also tried to meet the needs of Scotland and Ireland. But, in addition to this, he restored the name and prestige of England abroad. He defeated the Dutch in a war to protect English commerce; he tried to make the Spaniards open their colonies to English ships, and seized Jamaica in 1655. In 1657 he sent troops to help Mazarin against Spain in the Netherlands, and, later, the English received Dunkirk for their services. England was reawakening to prosperity. Even in literature the famous writings of Bunyan, and of Milton, who was Cromwell's secretary, contributed to national glory.

Before Cromwell died he realized that his system of government was unstable, for there was no strong ruler to follow him. Moreover, during his administration, the triumph of Puritanism had led to excesses. The Long Parliament had compelled the people in the villages to give up their games. There was no more dancing round the maypole, no more wrestling matches, no more Sunday sports. The major-generals were very strict, and officials were sent round the country to punish all who disobeyed. People longed for a revival of the good old days when sport was encouraged and village life was merry. Cromwell's last years were weighed down with the consciousness of failure, and he lived in daily fear of attempts on his life. In August 1658 he was taken ill with a fever from which he never recovered, and he died on 3rd September, having named his son Richard as his successor.



CROMWELL REFUSING THE CROWN
(*Maguire*)

The story of the next two years is soon told. Richard was not a ruler of men, and after a troubled year of office he resigned. For a while the country was in a state of confusion, but in 1660 a saviour appeared. George Monk, one of Cromwell's commanders, determined to put a stop to the discord, and marched with his men from Scotland to 'bring the king into his own'. On 29th May 1660 the bells were ringing again, and people cheered to the echo when Charles II entered London. The hatred of the whole country was now vented on the Puritans. The bodies of Cromwell and others were exhumed and hung up in public view at Tyburn. For many years the name of Cromwell was detested in England, and he was regarded as a self-seeking tyrant who had enslaved his country and made it more miserable than Charles I had done. Only in more recent years has it been realized that, in spite of all his faults, his was an honest and unselfish attempt to bring freedom and greatness to his stricken country.

CHIEF DATES

- 1603. Accession of James I.
- 1605. Gunpowder Plot.
- 1625. Accession of Charles I.
- 1626. Impeachment of Buckingham.
- 1628. Petition of Right.
- 1628. Assassination of Buckingham.
- 1628-41. Rule of Strafford and Laud.
- 1638. Scottish Covenant made.
- 1641. Execution of Strafford.
- 1642. Outbreak of Civil War. Battle of Edgehill.
- 1644. Battle of Marston Moor.
- 1645. Battle of Naseby.
- 1646. Surrender of Charles to the Scots.
- 1647. Charles handed over to Parliament and seized by the army.
- 1647. Escape of Charles.
- 1648. Battle of Preston.

- 1648. Pride's Purge.
- 1649. Execution of Charles.
- 1650. Battle of Dunbar.
- 1651. Battle of Worcester.
- 1653. Parliament driven out by Cromwell.
- 1658. Capture of Dunkirk.
- 1658. Death of Cromwell.
- 1660. Monk enters London.
- 1660. Restoration of the Stuarts.

EXERCISES

1. What were the chief grievances of the English Parliament before 1628, and what measures did it take to remedy them?
2. What events gave rise to the Civil War?
3. Account for the victories of the Parliament from 1642 to 1645.
4. Give the reasons for the quarrel in the Parliamentary ranks, and describe the consequences.
5. Give an account of the successive attempts made by Cromwell to form a stable parliamentary government in England. How was the country finally governed?
6. Why and how was Charles II brought to the English throne.

3

CARDINAL MAZARIN

In 1629 the French armies were besieging the fortress of Casale when one day a man, apparently demented, was seen between the opposing lines, running towards the French, wildly waving a white paper containing the terms of an armistice. This young man was an Italian diplomat, Giulio Mazarini. Cardinal Richelieu recognized his worth and later took him into his employ. In 1639 he became a French subject and was raised in 1641 to the rank of cardinal. Before Richelieu died he recommended 'Jules

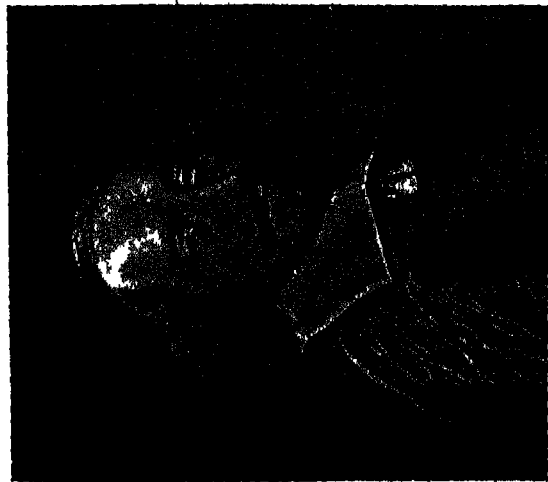
Mazarin' to Louis XIII as being the man most capable of carrying out the task of regenerating France.

Louis XIII died in 1643, having made arrangements for a council of regency during the minority of his son, but the queen and Cardinal Mazarin set aside the will of Louis and prevented the formation of a council of nobles. Anne of Austria was then made sole regent of the kingdom, with Cardinal Mazarin as her chief Minister.

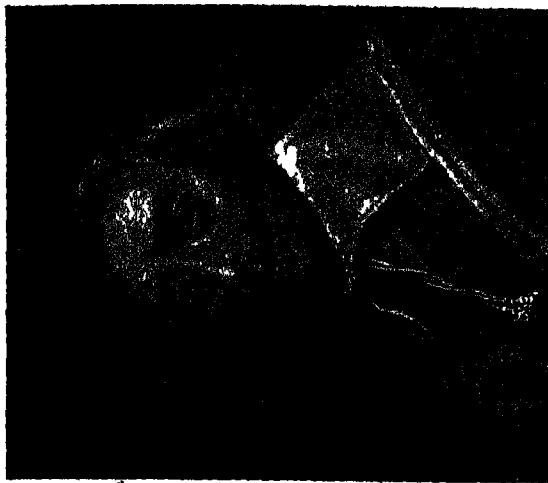
Mazarin was smooth of tongue, cunning, and handsome, a master of intrigue who wormed his way through all difficulties by his smiling face and ready wit. He went through life constantly pretending to be other than he was; he feigned simplicity, though he was a man who loved luxury and extravagance; he pretended to be unselfish, but his greed is clearly seen in the huge fortune which he amassed for himself and his relatives at the expense of France. The smile and kind word of Cardinal Mazarin were often the cloak for some hidden scheme encompassing downfall. His task was a hard one, for he was a foreigner, and as such was detested by the whole court. Passions, repressed for the last twenty years, were ready to rise on every hand with more bitterness than ever. Only two circumstances seemed to be in the cardinal's favour; he had a devoted queen and a good army.

The first years of the administration were tranquil. The reign opened amid great jubilation when the news arrived in 1643 that the Duc d'Enghien, son of the Prince of Condé, had inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the Spaniards at Rocroi. Between 1644 and 1648 another great French soldier, Marshal Turenne, won more victories, and the Thirty Years' War ended in the overrunning of Bavaria.

But trouble had begun at home before the end of the war. Mazarin, although a good diplomatist, was not a master of finance. Court expenses were very heavy, the war had cost a great deal, and bribes to the nobles had further impoverished the royal treasury. The system of taxation



CARDINAL MAZARIN



CARDINAL RICHELIEU

THE GREAT CARDINALS

had, since the time of Sully, gone from bad to worse. Offices had been created and sold to the highest bidder, loans had been raised on which it was impossible to pay the interest, and taxes which had fallen into disuse had been revived in the hope of bringing in a little extra. Corrupt officials collected the dues and lined their own pockets by fraudulent practices.

The example of an English rebellion which had ended in civil war was enough to make the country ripe for revolt. Trouble arose in 1644 over taxation in Paris, and, in 1647, matters became serious when the controller-general, d'Émeri, levied a toll on all goods passing through the city. The 'Édit du Tarif', as it was called, was the signal for resistance, and the Parlement of Paris took up the cause of the people.

The Parlement of Paris was an assembly of lawyers which had originally been founded by Philip Augustus in the twelfth century to help him against the feudal nobles. In 1648 this body refused to approve of the Édit du Tarif; Louis himself, though only nine years old, appeared before them, but his commands had no effect.

At last the Parlement convened an assembly to deal with the whole question, but Mazarin arrested two of its members. The rebellion began with the erection of barricades in the streets of Paris. The discontented nobles joined forces with the people, and the common object of all was to oust the hated cardinal from power. Thus began the 'Fronde', so called because of the *frogdes*, or slings, used by the Parisians in their street fights.

The First Fronde began badly for the court, and the young king had to be hidden for fear he should be carried off. Anne and Mazarin had one general, Condé, who moved against Paris with an army and defeated the rebels in every engagement. The nobles then obtained the support of Turenne, and made a treaty with Spain, but Mazarin bribed Turenne to desert them, and the people of

Paris were angry at the nobles for inviting the Spaniards. At last peace was made in March 1649, and the First Fronde ended. Mazarin promised to reform the system of taxation, and the Parlement of Paris took no further part in the war.

The Second Fronde was a struggle between Mazarin and the French nobility, in which each man fought, not for the good of the state, but for his own hand. The arrogance of Condé after he had broken down the old Fronde knew no bounds. He now wanted his reward, but Mazarin had him arrested. When he was released in 1651 he went over to the Fronde and entered Paris, where he was welcomed. Mazarin, apparently defeated, retired into exile.

The tyrannical behaviour of Condé in Paris caused Mazarin to return, this time bringing with him Turenne. The two generals fought a battle, after which Condé was obliged to take refuge in the city and later to flee to the Spaniards. The people of Paris were now tired of war and ready to welcome back the young king, in whom they saw their only chance of salvation. In 1652 the court returned to the capital and Mazarin joined it the following year.

There is a great contrast between the result of this war which gave power to the king, and the English Civil War, which in 1649 had ended in the execution of Charles I and the proclamation of the Commonwealth. The English struggle was begun by a king who had tried to become absolute against the will of Parliament, and the war was fought on the clear issue as to whether the latter should retain its rights or not. There was no light-heartedness, no foolish rioting, no self-seeking about the English war, which was a war of principles and, as such, was fought out to the bitter end. Had Parliament, nobles, and people striven in France in the same spirit, the future history of France might have been strangely altered.

The experiences of Louis at the hands of the rebels, before his fourteenth year, were enough to turn him for

ever against allowing either people or nobles to share in the government. He, the king, had been forced to hide like a hunted animal, to sleep in straw, to travel by night and to wear old clothes. He was a clumsy boy, rather like his father in many ways, but in addition to his father's shrewdness, he possessed a great amount of practical ability although he had little real education. Had his character not been warped in youth by the unfortunate affair of the Fronde, he might have made a good, business-like king.

The last years of Mazarin's life were spent in peace, for the work of subduing the nobles was completed. During the Thirty Years' War he had done all in his power to carry on the work of Richelieu. The treaty of 1648 brought peace to every country except France and Spain, which continued the war. The French generals pushed the campaign into the Spanish Netherlands in the hope of wresting these provinces from Spain and establishing the boundary along the Rhine. But the Fronde upset matters at home, and the French armies were occupied in civil struggles. In 1653 Paris was saved only by the superior tactics of Turenne.

At last Mazarin realized that he could not conclude the war satisfactorily without help, and was driven to approach the hated English Commonwealth. During the Civil War he had favoured Charles and had almost been induced to send soldiers to help him, but when Parliament won he realized that it would not be to his benefit to keep up the quarrel for ever. In 1652 he recognized the Commonwealth, in 1655 a commercial treaty was signed, and in 1657 Cromwell sent six thousand Ironsides to help Turenne. They besieged Dunkirk, which surrendered. Spain was driven to conclude the Peace of the Pyrenees, by which France gained all Artois, important fortresses in Flanders, and the two provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne in the south, thus making a well-defined frontier along the

Pyrenees. In return, France renounced claims to sovereignty in Italy, restored Condé to his dignities, and made him governor of Burgundy. In 1660 the bargain was sealed by the marriage of the king to Maria Theresa, a daughter of the King of Spain. A dowry of five hundred thousand crowns was to be paid by Spain, and in return it was stipulated that, to prevent France and Spain from uniting, Maria should renounce for ever the throne of Spain for any of her descendants. Mazarin thus saw the fulfilment of his schemes.

His last effort in Germany was to establish a settlement of affairs favourable to French expansion. He succeeded in inducing the princes of the Empire, both Catholic and Protestant, to form a league, called the 'League of the Rhine'. This league forced the Emperor Leopold to promise not to make war on France and to send no help to Spain. Thus Mazarin created a strong body of German princes who were ready to rely on France for protection against the Empire, while the Spanish marriage of Louis XIV, concluded in 1660, restored French friendship with Spain. Mazarin had now succeeded in creating a Europe grouped round France. Under such circumstances it was most unlikely that war would break out unless France willed it.

In 1661 Mazarin died, leaving the young monarch a kingdom at peace both at home and abroad. Thanks to his peculiar genius for judging men, he left behind him a number of first-rate diplomatists, financiers, and state servants who filled the early years of Louis XIV with glamour. Yet he possessed many faults, for there were certain aspects of statesmanship which he quite neglected. To the end of his life he made no attempt to better the lives of the people or to encourage industry. The welfare of the state depends, after all, not primarily on its nobles, its priests, or its king, but on its workers. If they are not prosperous, they cannot go on for ever producing wealth for the state. But he was confident that he had succeeded in putting

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France on the road to greatness. 'It will depend on yourself,' he said to Louis, 'to become the most glorious king that has ever lived. God has given you all the necessary qualities, and all you have to do is to employ them.'

CHIEF DATES

1643.	Accession of Louis XIV.
1648.	Treaty of Westphalia.
1648-53.	Rebellion of the Fronde.
1659.	Treaty of the Pyrenees.
1661.	Death of Mazarin.

EXERCISES

1. Compare the characters of the two cardinals. How far did Mazarin complete the work that Richelieu had begun?
2. Compare the Fronde with the English Civil War, saying why one failed and the other succeeded.
3. How did Mazarin benefit France in her relations
 - (a) with the German princes,
 - (b) with England,
 - (c) with Spain?

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

McCabe.	<i>The Iron Cardinal.</i>
Lodge.	<i>Cardinal Richelieu.</i> (Foreign Statesmen.)
Perkins.	<i>Richelieu.</i> (Heroes of the Nations.)
Boulanger.	<i>The Seventeenth Century.</i> (National History of France.)
Wakeman.	<i>The Ascendancy of France.</i>
Green.	<i>Short History of the English People.</i>
Drinkwater.	<i>Oliver Cromwell.</i> (Biography.)
Hassall.	<i>Cardinal Mazarin.</i> (Foreign Statesmen.)

CHAPTER VII

'LE ROI SOLEIL'

I

COLBERT AND LOUVOIS

IN 1661 Louis XIV entered into his inheritance with the words of Mazarin ever present in his mind. He was now a handsome young man of twenty-two, full of vigour and anxious to acquit himself well in this new task of ruling a country.

Mazarin had left behind a team of very able men. Of these the most distinguished at that time was Hugues de Lionne, a diplomatist who had seen long service and was as cunning as the cardinal himself. He had helped to draw up the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, and was the originator of the marriage clause in the Treaty of the Pyrenees. He had also done much to secure the support of the German princes when the League of the Rhine was formed.

The army was at that time more efficient than ever before, and the generals were now completely reconciled to the king. The Prince of Condé was a young military genius of thirty who had won his first victory at the age of twenty-two. His campaigns were always quick, brilliant, and decisive. His colleague, Vicomte de Turenne, was ten years older, without the dashing brilliance of Condé, but he always defeated his enemies by deliberate and carefully planned movements. Turenne was awkward and quiet. Even his dispatches contained nothing but bald facts, as, for instance, when he wrote to Paris after the capture of Dunkirk: 'The enemy came upon us. They have been beaten. God be praised. I have worked rather hard all day. I bid you good night and am going to bed'. He

served his country well, for, though he had many faults, he was faithful and industrious.

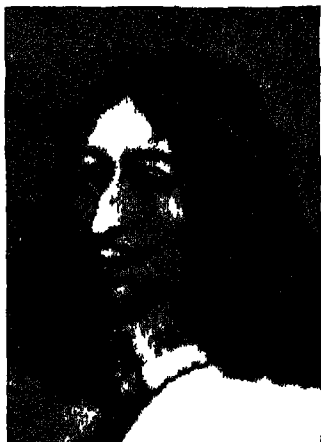
The greatest Minister of all was Jean Baptiste Colbert, one of Mazarin's old servants. For ten years he had had the task of administering the cardinal's immense fortune. He first came to prominence through being asked to find evidence to convict the Finance Minister of stealing state funds. When the trial was over, Colbert was appointed to the vacant office. His ambition, like that of Mazarin, was to raise Louis to the position of mightiest potentate of his time.

Colbert believed that the greatest prosperity could be brought by peace and trade. He wished to create a country which would produce everything for its own needs without buying anything from abroad, and then, having done this, it could exchange all its surplus productions with other countries for gold. Thus the land would enjoy riches and plenty. Accordingly he laid heavy taxes on imported goods, in order that France might be compelled to produce these herself. He also stimulated home industry by granting bounties to manufacturers, by building state factories, and bringing in foreigners to teach the people new industries. Thus, in all parts of the country, iron-foundries, factories for lace, cloth, carpets, and other goods were set up. To bring materials from abroad, exploration was encouraged, merchant companies were founded, and the growth of the French colonies was fostered.

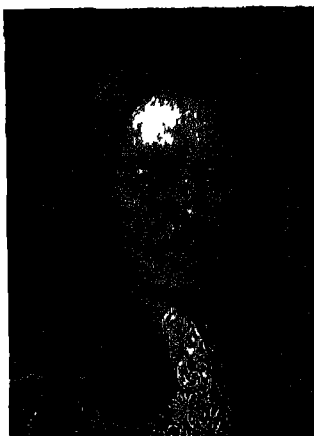
Colbert, however, was not destined to have his own way, for he had many rivals among the generals and army organizers. The chief of these were Michel le Tellier and his son Louvois. These two men, by copying the methods of Cromwell, raised the French army to a state of perfection never known before. Cromwell had shown the world that the fiercest cavalry charge could be resisted by solid and well-disciplined squares of infantry. The French soldiers were therefore well paid and well fed, and



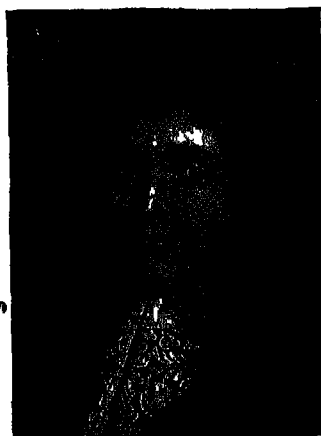
LOUVOIS



CONDÉ



TURENNE



COLBERT

THE MINISTERS AND GENERALS OF LOUIS XIV

had an efficient and plentiful supply of officers, now recruited from the ranks of the nobility, who, since the Fronde, had turned to fighting as a profession. Louvois found that with reliable men it was possible to build up enormous power. He made the infantryman into both pikeman and musketeer by the introduction of the bayonet, a short knife which the peasants of the Pyrenees used to thrust into the muzzles of their guns when hunting bears. Thus he found that a line of men three or four deep was sufficient to withstand cavalry attacks. Its greatest disadvantage was its unwieldiness. A square of men can turn to the right or left and still be in the same formation, but when the men are in a line the process of turning becomes difficult. The strictness of discipline in the French army helped Louvois to overcome this. He knew that the men would not waver under fire and that they could be trusted to move slowly and deliberately. Thus, when required to turn, the whole line swung round as if on a pivot, the middle man remaining in the same place, those at the extremities of the line moving back and forwards with slow, deliberate steps. The famous 'parade step' still seen in military displays is a survival of this manoeuvre.

Recruiting in those days was done by the non-commissioned officers, who went to the villages and tempted the young men by displaying to them roasted fowls, fresh meat, and white bread. Louvois did not disappoint those who enlisted. He provided them with uniforms, which previously had only been worn by the king's household troops; he gave them good quarters, regular pay, and an abundance of food. Even in time of war they were comparatively well cared for, for Louvois created the commissariat, a special department which undertook all the arrangements for providing victuals. When the army moved into a new area, quarters were found by the quartermaster, who preceded the main force and arranged for the billeting of the men.

Louis was proud of the army, and secretly longed for the day when he would be able to take it into action. Thus Louvois became more and more the master of France, while Colbert worked day after day to find money to finance the king's wars.

In 1665 Philip IV of Spain died, leaving his throne to Charles II, his son by a second marriage. Louis, however, had married Maria Theresa, Philip's daughter, and now saw his chance to claim lands in the Netherlands, by invoking an obsolete law known as the 'Law of Devolution', which had ordained that, in the case where the owner had married twice, the lands should go to the children of the first marriage in preference to those of the second. The claims of Louis were not justified, as the Law of Devolution only related to private property, but he nevertheless made it an excuse for war. In May 1667 a force of fifty thousand men under Turenne invaded the Netherlands. All Flanders was occupied, and at the beginning of 1668 Louis himself led a spectacular campaign into Franche-Comté, which was conquered in sixteen days. But, hearing of the alliances that were being made against him, he signed peace at Aix-la-Chapelle and kept only a few Spanish fortresses in Flanders.

The brief respite from war gave Louis the chance to prepare for the next conflict. He was angry with the Dutch, who had concluded a Triple Alliance with England and Sweden, and who, in addition to ridiculing him, had put very high duties on French goods. Louis was met by requests for a war on all sides, and he readily consented to invade the Low Countries.

It was an easy matter to detach England from the alliance. Charles II, who was anxious to free himself from parliamentary control, made the secret Treaty of Dover with France in 1670. Louis paid a large sum of money, promised an annual grant of £200,000 and the support of French soldiers should the English rebel; Charles, in return,

withdrew from the alliance and promised to take steps to restore Catholicism in England. Sweden, too, accepted money as the price of neutrality, and in 1672 all was ready. The Dutch had a force of only eighty thousand to meet a hundred and twenty thousand sent by Louis. This force was inefficient and poorly equipped, and his fortresses almost useless for defensive purposes. He was not a clever general and he suffered continually from illnesses, but nevertheless he struggled on with a persistence that refused to acknowledge defeat. Time after time he was beaten, but always rose again, grim and determined as ever.

The Dutch War lasted six years. During the first of these the French armies under Condé crossed the Rhine in a spectacular engagement, but the Dutch opened the dikes and made the capture of Amsterdam impossible. When John de Witt, the Stadhouder, tried to make peace, he and his brother Cornelius were murdered in the street and William of Orange was put in his place. In 1673 the French had to retire, having lost all their conquests.

This sudden invasion on the part of the French army now raised enemies all over Europe. The Emperor and the Elector of Brandenburg joined Holland, and the league was enlarged by the admission of Spain (who feared lest she should lose Franche-Comté) and by the smaller princes. The English, too, having already suffered at the hands of the Dutch admiral, de Ruyter, broke away from the French alliance, and Louis had to face all Europe alone.

The war which followed proved that France was not invincible. At the end of April 1674 Turenne defeated the Emperor on the Rhine by a masterstroke, and Germany appeared to be at his mercy. 'You have raised up afresh one of the lilies of my crown,' Louis said, as he embraced him in Paris. In Flanders, William, though defeated again and again, disputed every inch of land and finally compelled Condé to retire. Louis reserved for himself the easiest campaign, and in six weeks overran Franche-Comté

with great display. But in the next year, Marshal Turenne was killed, while manœuvring for position at Salzbach, and Condé was forced by illness to retire. The positions of the two generals were taken by men of far less ability—'the small change of M. de Turenne'. When peace was signed in 1678 at Nimeguen, France only obtained Franche-Comté from Spain and frontier fortresses in Flanders. Holland emerged with undiminished territories and with a promise that the French would abolish the tariff on Dutch goods. But what angered Louis most was the marriage of the Stadhouder William to Mary, niece of the English king, Charles II. Should William ever obtain control over England's military and naval resources, he would be able to resist the French much more effectively.

The Peace of Nimeguen marked the zenith of French power. Louis had gained much, but the cost had been enormous, the resources accumulated by Colbert had been squandered, the valuable work of Mazarin in gaining allies had been undone, two great French generals had been lost, and the efficiency of a splendid army had been impaired. Colbert and Louvois were growing older, and the king's desire to control everything himself had prevented the advance of other able men to take their places. Above all, Holland had not been vanquished. Yet, had Louis changed his policy from conquest to peace as he could have done, Europe might well have derived enormous benefits from the leadership and the example of a great monarch.

CHIEF DATES

- 1661. Louis XIV assumes control of the government of France.
- 1667-8. War of Devolution.
- 1670. Treaty of Dover
- 1672-8. Dutch War.
- 1675. Death of Turenne. Retirement of Condé.
- 1677. Marriage of William and Mary.
- 1678. Treaty of Nimeguen.

EXERCISES

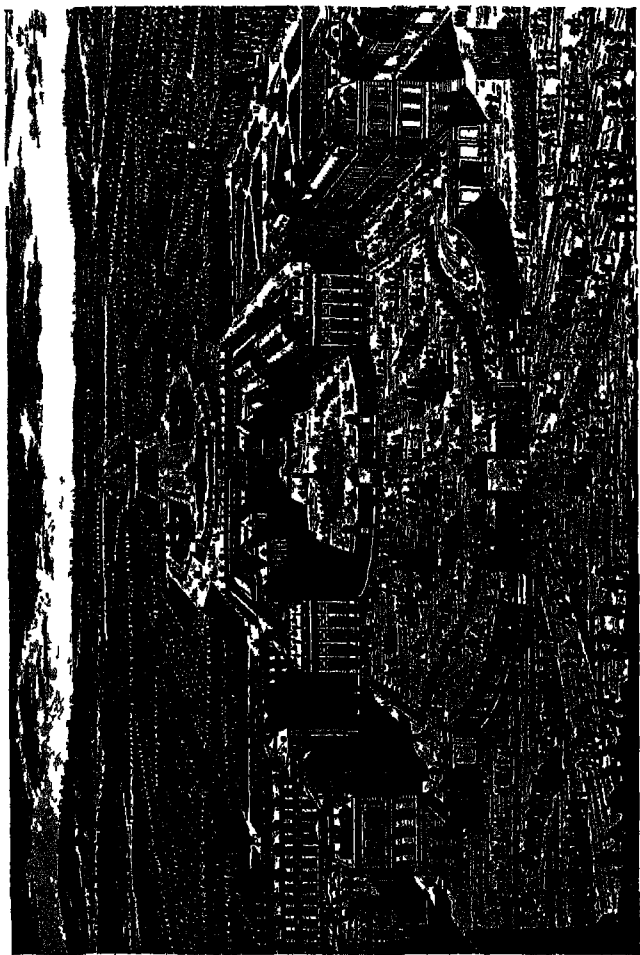
- 1 'It will depend on yourself to become the most glorious king that has ever lived.' What justification had Cardinal Mazarin for saying this?
- 2 How did Colbert hope to enrich France?
3. Describe the army reforms of Louvois.
4. What were the objects of Louis in making war on his neighbours? What forces of opposition did his policy raise up against him?
- 5 Describe the War of Devolution and the Dutch War
- 6 What did France gain at the Treaty of Nimeguen, and at whose expense?

2

THE DECLINE

LOUIS XIV hated Paris. Perhaps he remembered too well the degrading spectacles in those narrow, filthy streets during the wars of the Fronde. He therefore decided to have a new palace where he could be surrounded by an admiring crowd of lords and ambassadors. His father had had a hunting-lodge on a little hill at Versailles, and here Louis decided to make his new home. In 1685, thirty-six thousand men were working on a magnificent building and laying out acres of ground with trees, canals, roads, and fountains.

The Palace of Versailles was indeed a formidable structure, topping a little hill in the midst of an undulating, wooded plain. Everything about it was magnificent—the courtyard, its galleries ornamented with curios and paintings, its rooms luxuriously appointed, and its high, broad windows. Here not only the king and his personal



Grandon

THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES

attendants lived, but hundreds of people paid fortunes to secure small apartments in the hope that the king's glance would one day lead to preferment.

Life at the court was a continual round of ceremony. In the morning, Louis was awakened by the First Valet de Chambre, and at the same moment a great company of counsellors and nobles filed solemnly into the bedroom. The king received them, spoke to such as had matters of importance to mention to him, and then the work began of preparing the king to receive more visitors. His slippers were put on by a duke and his dressing-gown by a prince, while, at the appointed times, parties of nobles, officials, and courtiers entered the hall in solemn silence, and the king dressed himself before the gaze of the awed assembly. Dukes and lords handed to him his shirt, hose, and shoes. Not a word was spoken, not a movement made among the crowd of courtiers. During this impressive ceremony, those who wished to enter the room were not permitted to knock on the door, but had to scratch quietly on the panel with the finger-nail.

Everybody knew what the king was going to do during the day, for in the morning the programme was announced. Church-going, hunting, and councils all had their place in the daily routine, and Louis ate his meals alone at a little table by the window of his own room, while the whole court gazed on him.

The king was every inch a gentleman. His etiquette was carefully worked out. He raised his hat to all ladies, but with men he used discrimination. He lifted it off to a prince, raised it slightly to a man of title, and touched it to a gentleman. He spoke little, and a remark from him was enough to set any courtier's heart fluttering. People who approached him for the first time were almost struck dumb by his majesty and grandeur, and it was not uncommon for humble petitioners to be so overcome by nervousness that they lost the power to address him. He

was indeed a king who never forgot his high calling for a single moment.

The face and figure of Louis XIV were enough to mark him out from other men. He had the long nose of his family, and a full, manly face, round which clustered rich brown curls. When he grew old and took to wearing a wig, he still persisted in showing the locks of hair he had left, through holes which were specially cut in it. He had a fine physique, was capable of enduring the severest hardship, and was hardly ever ill. His appetite was enormous. He would sit down at a table and eat, without stopping, as much as three ordinary men.

This was 'Le Roi Soleil', the Sun King, from whom all glory emanated, and to be in whose favour was considered the height of all ambition. Yet the Sun King was a man with many failings which made him forget that a king lives for his country. His vanity was paid for by the blood of his people. His soldiers were like so many pawns in a game of chess, and died uselessly on the battle-field to raise his name, while their families starved at home to find the money to erect his gorgeous palaces. The court went its way and enjoyed its masques and music, oblivious of the sufferings of the people.

Louvois was now at the height of his power, and in 1681 the wars began again. Louis had set up courts to search the records of old treaties, and he put forward claims to vast districts on France's eastern frontier. About eighty towns were occupied by French troops, and the 'War of the Reunions' began. The other powers retaliated by making an alliance, but Louis contrived to detach Brandenburg and Denmark from it, and persuaded the Turks to attack the Empire. Vienna was only saved by the heroism of the Polish king, John Sobieski, who hurriedly marched south and defeated them. In 1684 Louis imposed a twenty years' truce on the enemy, and the disputed lands were reunited to France without difficulty.

Even this was not the end. In 1685 the Elector Palatine died. He was the brother of the Duchess of Orleans, and Louis saw a chance of claiming part of his lands as the inheritance of the duchess. When the other powers saw that they were again being threatened, they formed a league at Augsburg, including the Empire, Spain, Sweden, the Palatinate, Bavaria, and Saxony (1686). Louis saw little hope of obtaining satisfaction without war, and therefore in 1688 he sent a French army which immediately conquered the Palatinate.

Meanwhile, in England, events of extreme importance were taking place. Charles II had died in 1685 and his brother, James II, was neither as tactful nor as able as Charles had been. He had not been king long before he offended the English by proposing to give freedom to all Catholics. To this end he issued a 'Declaration of Indulgence', which he ordered to be read by all ministers. Most of them refused, and seven bishops who signed a protest against the declaration were prosecuted for libel. The verdict of 'Not guilty' was the signal for the downfall of James. Some of the English nobles sent for William of Orange to deliver the country. He landed at Torbay, and before Louis could do anything to prevent it he had been proclaimed king as William III. James II fled to France and was equipped with a small force to help him regain his kingdom. He reached Ireland, where his cause was taken up, but William completely defeated him at the battle of the Boyne, and captured Limerick. A second French expedition was frustrated in 1692 at the naval battle of La Hogue, and England joined the League of Augsburg.

Germany again suffered badly at the hands of the French. The town of Heidelberg was destroyed, its famous castle blown up, and the survivors of the disaster were mercilessly slaughtered. Marshal de Luxembourg, one of the best French generals left, invaded Flanders and took Namur, but was met at Steinkerk by the resolute William. Here

the French won a victory, and another shortly afterwards at Neerwinden, but lack of supplies prevented them from going further.

In 1695 the weakness of the French was apparent. Colbert had died in 1683. His son and successor, Seignelay, had done much for the French navy, but he too died in 1690, and Louvois in 1691. Barbesieux, the son of Louvois, had inherited none of the ability of his father and grandfather. Louis, who had always been an industrious king, now worked longer than ever. He held councils every day and corresponded directly with his generals, sometimes sending letters of twenty pages.

Money, which had been plentiful at the beginning of the reign, was now scarce, and Louis found that he must make peace. In 1697, therefore, a number of treaties were signed at Ryswick. Louis accepted for France the frontier which had been laid down at the Peace of Nimeguen, permitting the Dutch to keep garrisons in the frontier towns of the Spanish Netherlands as a security against the French, and acknowledging William III as King of England. He surrendered French claims to the Palatinate, but kept Strasbourg, thus completing his hold on Alsace. Nevertheless, the treaty was disappointing to him, for Holland and England together had given his prestige a severe blow.

The court of Louis was now no longer gay, for the king had become religious, having fallen under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, the governess of his children, who exhorted him to live a godly life. In 1683 he married her. Louis then forsook the gaudy trappings of his youth and might now be seen in a sombre brown coat. The whole court followed suit. The gay ribbons and smiling faces disappeared, and the Palace of Versailles became cold and cheerless. People lived there only for the sake of the advantages that might be gained by being near the king.

Louis now became convinced that as King of France he had long neglected his duties to the Catholic Church. The

presence of Protestants in France displeased him, for he felt that if a country was to be united it must be one in religion as well as in government. From 1675, attempts were made to convert them. They were excluded from public offices and had to pay a double share of the *taille*. After 1680 their lot became extremely hard. Louvois billeted his troops in Huguenot households, and the lives of their unwilling hosts were made so uncomfortable that at last many of them were glad enough to attend Mass. Hundreds fled across the sea and founded little communities in Prussia and England, until emigration was forbidden by law. Those who were caught attempting to flee from the country were condemned to the galleys, where, under the fierce Mediterranean sun, they were chained to their benches, and lived miserably, in the midst of filth and stench, on black bread, beans, and salt meat. When the enemy came in sight they were mercilessly whipped to get every ounce of effort out of them. Such was the fate of any Huguenot who was caught trying to leave the country.

The policy of Louis was very successful, and, when at last he was convinced that there were very few heretics left, he revoked the Edict of Nantes and prohibited all Huguenot worship (1685). The harm done to France by this decree was incalculable.

The Treaty of Ryswick was hardly completed when another crisis in foreign affairs arose. Charles II, the weak and ailing King of Spain, seemed likely to die at any time, and he had no son to succeed him. Louis now determined to break the Treaty of the Pyrenees on the grounds that the dowry promised him on his marriage had not been paid. He therefore claimed the throne of Spain for his son. There were also two other claimants, the Archduke Charles of Austria and Joseph Ferdinand, the infant son of the Elector of Bavaria.

Louis XIV was determined to exclude Austria, and he made a Partition Treaty with England and Holland, by

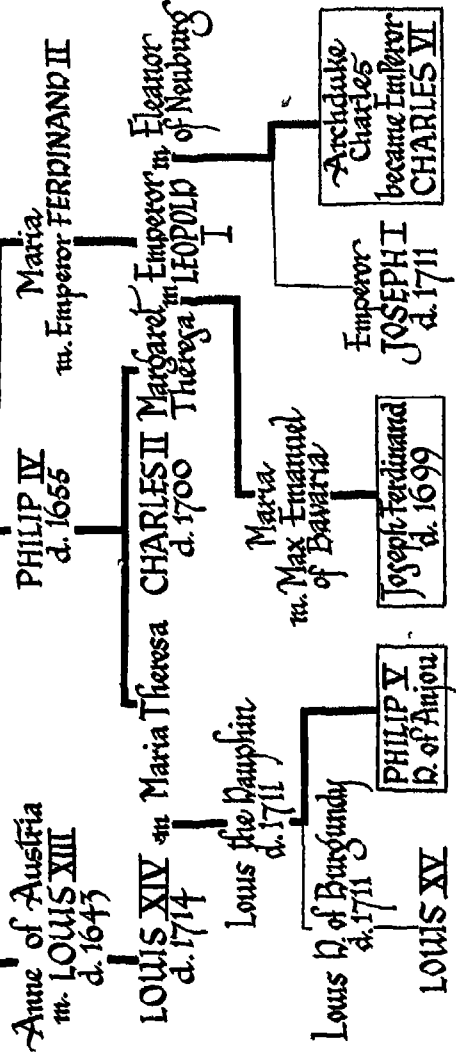


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THE FLIGHT OF THE HUGUENOTS
(*Sheridan Knowlton*)

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

PHILIP III



which the Spanish lands were to be broken up. Charles was to have the Milanese; Naples, Sicily, and the Tuscan ports were to go to the Dauphin; while Joseph Ferdinand was to have all the rest and to be King of Spain. In January 1699, however, Joseph Ferdinand died, and the choice now lay between Philip the Dauphin and the Archduke Charles. In 1700, therefore, Louis and William made the Second Partition Treaty. Charles was to have Spain, the Netherlands, Sardinia, and the colonies, while the Dauphin was to have the lands stipulated in the previous treaty. But, when Charles died in 1700, it was found that in his will he had left all his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son.

Louis was now faced with a grave problem. Was he to keep the treaty with William, and lose half the Spanish lands, or was he to declare that he would abide by the will, and gain them all for his grandson? On 16th November 1700 he announced his decision to the whole court. Pointing to his grandson, he said: 'Gentlemen, this is the King of Spain'.

All Europe was astounded. William protested strongly against the breaking of the treaty, but he could do nothing. At this point, however, Louis made a fatal blunder by declaring that Philip and his possible successors, although they might be Kings of Spain, were not excluded from possible succession in France as well. He then sent troops to occupy the fortresses in the Netherlands which were being garrisoned by the Dutch. William III wanted war, and in the end he persuaded England to support him. The result was a Grand Alliance, signed at The Hague in 1701 by representatives of the Emperor, Holland, and England. William did not even see the beginning of the war, but died in 1702 while making preparations for the first campaign.

French administrators were now more incapable than ever. Barbesieux had been succeeded by Chamillart, a young man whose only virtue seems to have been docility.

He took charge of finances and war, and was followed in 1709 by the even more incapable Voysin. French generals, though there were still among them able men such as Villars and Vendôme, had not the ability of Condé, or even of Luxembourg. Louis's Ministers, with the exception of Torcy, who controlled foreign affairs, were of little use, and, in the end, Louis found himself going so far as to direct his campaigns from Paris. The results were disastrous, for, while the generals were waiting for dispatches from the king, the allies many times attacked and defeated them.

The War of the Spanish Succession began badly for the French. Louis's general, Villeroy, was taken prisoner in Italy by Prince Eugene, and the English drove the French out of many of the important towns of the Netherlands. Only in Bavaria did Louis achieve any success. Here, in 1704, the French had become so strong that they were even threatening Vienna. Marlborough marched from the Netherlands to the Danube to reinforce the army of Prince Eugene. They were met at Blenheim by the French under Tallard and Marsin, and a general engagement followed. Marlborough completely annihilated Tallard's army and the remaining forces retreated. Austria was safe, and Bavaria was now in the hands of the allies. In the same year the English admiral, Rooke, captured the valuable rock-fortress of Gibraltar.

Marlborough now hurried back to resist the French in the Netherlands. In 1706 Villeroy, who had been released, was put in command of a great force to carry out an offensive. Marlborough defeated him at the battle of Ramillies, and followed up his victory by the capture of a number of the greatest cities—Brussels, Bruges, and Ghent among them. In Italy the French laid siege to Turin, but the Austrians attacked with such vigour that the besiegers were driven off. The French cause in Italy was now quite lost. In Spain, Philip of Anjou was defeated by the allies time after time, till the people rose on his side and freed the

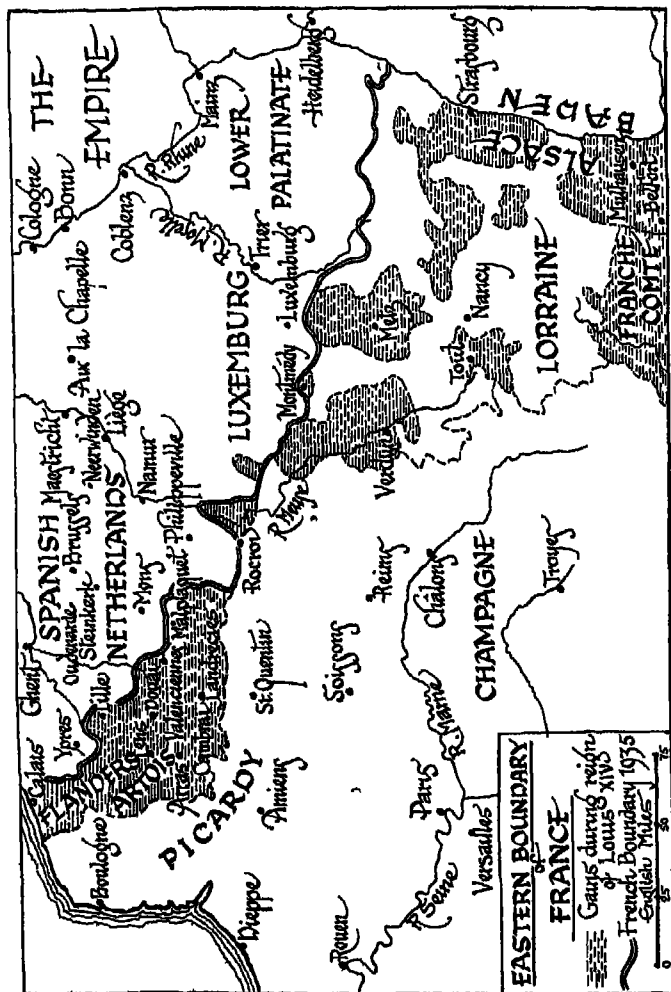
country. This gave the French new courage, and in 1708 Louis determined on another effort in the Netherlands. Vendôme advanced in great style, but his delays gave Marlborough a chance to attack at Oudenarde and to win a decisive victory. Again the English overran all Flanders, and the French had to retire.

The winter of 1708-9 was a terrible one. The rivers were frozen, travellers died of cold on the high roads, and peasants perished in the fields. The king was becoming unpopular, the Parisians were openly disaffected, and the soldiers were selling their arms to buy bread.

In 1709 Louis was driven to make a serious effort for peace. The faithful Torcy went to meet the enemy leaders, but they demanded that the barrier fortresses be surrendered, that France be restricted to her boundaries of 1648, and that Louis should assist the allies in driving his grandson Philip from Spain. French pride could not bear it. The king appealed to all his people for co-operation, and France, loyal in extremities, subscribed manfully to the cause. In 1709 another great army went out, but the commander, Villars, was defeated in September at the the battle of Malplaquet with a loss of eleven thousand men. Though Marlborough won the battle, his losses were as heavy as those of the French, and this put new heart into them. 'If God be pleased to let us lose another such battle, your Majesty may take it that your enemies are destroyed,' wrote Villars to the king.

Still the allies refused to give way an inch on the proposed peace terms, when suddenly a series of events occurred which, not only brought peace, but made the last ten years of fighting seem absurd.

In the first place, the English people began to get tired of war. William III was dead, and the Whigs, who had supported him, were gradually losing power under Queen Anne. When the heavy English losses at Malplaquet became known, the Tories came into office. Marlborough,



in spite of his continued success against the French, was recalled in 1711 and deprived of his offices.

More important, however, was the death of Joseph I in 1711, leaving the Archduke Charles as Holy Roman Emperor. Those who had fought for ten years to make him King of Spain now cared nothing for his cause, for to make him King of Spain would revive a most dangerous alliance. The union of Spain and Austria must be prevented at any cost.

These two events brought good fortune to the French, and Villars profited by them. He made a sudden advance in the Netherlands, taking many towns. Paris was jubilant. At the very moment when France seemed to be humbled, the formidable alliance against her had dropped to pieces.

The Peace of Utrecht was signed in 1713. Philip of Anjou was given the choice of Spain's Italian provinces with a chance of the French throne, or the throne of Spain and renunciation of all claims to the French throne. He unhesitatingly chose the latter, and all was clear for the settlement of the many outstanding disputes. England received Gibraltar and Minorca, the keys to naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, and also the valuable American colonies of the Hudson Bay Territory, Newfoundland, and Acadia. The Dutch were allowed to garrison the famous 'barrier fortresses' as a security against France, and Austria received the rest of the Spanish Netherlands. Prussia was rewarded, and the King of Savoy received Sicily in return for his services to the allies.

All the contracting parties accepted the provisions of this treaty except the Emperor; but Villars, by invading the Palatinate, soon persuaded him that resistance without allies was hopeless, and in 1714 the two powers signed the Treaty of Rastatt. France kept Alsace and Strasburg, but ceded all lands on the right bank of the Rhine.

Thus ended Louis XIV's last war. Louis, still arrogant and forbidding, lived to see the end of it all, surviving

almost all the male members of his family. The Duke of Orleans, his brother, died in 1702; his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, died in the following year, leaving two sons, one of whom also died. The second, Louis, was the delicate child who later ruled over France as Louis XV. After the death of the Dauphin in 1711, the only surviving adult was Louis's third grandson, the Duke of Berry, who also died in 1714.

The court of France was thus stricken with grief during the old age of the king, but Louis bore his sorrow with great composure. He insisted that court life should go on as usual after the death of the Dauphin, nor did he allow the deaths of any of his other heirs to take from him the unruffled manner which he had shown all his life. Only when among intimate acquaintances, his eyes occasionally filled with tears. During his last illness he talked of death with great composure, preparing himself for the end, making his will, appointing as regent the Duke of Orleans, and giving wise counsel to his little great-grandson. 'My dear child,' he said, 'you are going to be the greatest king on earth. Never forget what you owe to God. Do not imitate me by making war, but try to keep peace with your neighbours.' The long reign of seventy-three years ended on the morning of 1st September 1715, and a new era dawned for France.

It was now sixty-four years since Cardinal Mazarin had told the young king that he could be the most glorious figure in all history if he acted wisely. Though gifted with the most able body of Ministers any king could wish, he had, through his own vanity, impoverished his country. Richelieu and Mazarin had indicated to him the happy medium between licence and oppression, and, in so far as he had deviated from the line of action laid down by them, he had done irreparable harm. The nobles, whom they had reduced to political impotence, he made into a class of privileged parasites who fawned on their king and neglected

their estates; the Huguenots, who had been rendered harmless and useful, Louis rooted out, and thus did great harm to his country. In foreign affairs the balance of power which Mazarin had established was soon upset by the king's unwarranted attacks on others. First Spain, then Holland, then Germany and the Empire, then England and Savoy, entered the lists against him. The goodwill which Mazarin had cultivated between France and the princes in the Rhineland was thoughtlessly destroyed, their lands were ravaged, and they were turned into enemies. Louis thought his resources were unending, for he had Colbert behind him; but the good work Colbert did was almost immediately undone. France had indeed shown marvellous powers of resistance, but the reign ended in poverty and discontent. Through his vainglory and obstinacy, Louis lost the love of his subjects and the respect of his foes. By his death both France and Europe felt relieved of one who had been the greatest enemy of peace and human well-being.

CHIEF DATES

- 1681. The War of the Reunions.
- 1683. Death of Colbert.
- 1684. Twenty Years' Truce.
- 1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
- 1686. League of Augsburg.
- 1688. William of Orange King of England.
- 1690. Battle of the Boyne.
- 1691. Death of Louvois.
- 1692. Battle of La Hogue.
- 1697. Peace of Ryswick.
- 1698. First Partition Treaty.
- 1700. Second Partition Treaty.
- 1700. Death of Charles II of Spain.
- 1701. The Grand Alliance.
- 1704. Battle of Blenheim. Capture of Gibraltar by English.

- 1706. Battle of Ramillies.
- 1708. Battle of Oudenarde.
- 1709. Battle of Malplaquet.
- 1710. Fall of Whig Ministry in England.
- 1711. Death of Emperor Joseph I.
- 1713. Peace of Utrecht.
- 1715. Death of Louis XIV.

EXERCISES

1. From what you have read in the last two chapters, write a character sketch of Louis XIV.
2. Find, from the last two chapters, the causes of each of the wars of Louis XIV from 1676 to 1697.
3. Show how, by deviating from the policy laid out by Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert, Louis did great harm to his country.
4. What part did William of Orange play in curbing the power of France?
5. What events from 1707 to 1711 made the War of Spanish Succession appear useless? How were the various problems settled at the Treaty of Utrecht?
6. Write a brief history of the Huguenots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

- Boulanger. *The Seventeenth Century*. (National History of France.)
 Hassall. *Louis XIV*. (Heroes of the Nations.)
 Wakeman. *The Ascendancy of France*.

CONCLUSION

OVER two hundred and fifty years elapsed between the fall of Constantinople and the death of Louis XIV. Medieval civilization had been broken down, new arts and sciences had arisen, and the revolt against the Catholic Church had established various new forms of faith in northern Europe.

Great nations emerged and struggled for supremacy. Spain passed through a century of glory as a result of the conquest of America, but various circumstances combined to prevent the Spaniards from raising their country permanently to the level of a first-rate power. With the decline of Spain had come the rise to pre-eminence of other maritime states, such as Holland and England, the sudden meteoric flash of Swedish power across Europe, and the gradual awakening of Russia in the east. Italy still remained divided, and was, for another hundred years, to be at the mercy of the conqueror.

The seventeenth century had witnessed the great duel between France and the Empire for lands which both claimed as their own. The vast state which Charles V had failed to unify succeeded, with the help of allies, in warding off destruction, but the rise within its own boundaries of new states, such as Prussia, now seemed to point to its ultimate dissolution. France too, though the rash schemes of Louis XIV had brought great misfortunes, was to rise again in the next century and make a further bid for the Rhinelands. The progress of discovery and colonization had, in the meantime, turned the attention of the powers to lands across the seas. A new era was now dawning for the maritime states, an era in which the prize was to be empire, and the battle-ground the wider world.

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